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THOMAS CROMWEL, *EARL OF ESSEX.*

*From an Original Painting by Holbein, in the
Possession of Thomas Clifford, Esq.^r of Tivall.*

Published by Arch.^d Constable, Edinburgh, Feb^r 7th 1809.

THE
STATE PAPERS
AND
LETTERS
OF
SIR RALPH SADLER,
KNIGHT-BANNERET.

EDITED BY
ARTHUR CLIFFORD, ESQ.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
A MEMOIR
OF
THE LIFE OF SIR RALPH SADLER,
WITH
HISTORICAL NOTES,
BY
Sir WALTER SCOTT, ESQ., *Bart*

VOL. I.

EDINBURGH :

PRINTED FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO. EDINBURGH ;

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AND JOHN MURRAY, LONDON.

1809.

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
CHARLES WILLIAM BURY,
EARL OF CHARLEVILLE, VISCOUNT CHARLEVILLE,
BARON TULLAMORE, F. R. S.
Esq. Esq. Esq.
ONE OF THE LORDS OF THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT OF THE
UNITED KINGDOM,

THESE
Curious and Interesting Remains
OF
THEIR COMMON ANCESTOR,
ARE,
WITH KIND PERMISSION, AND WITH THE HIGHEST RESPECT
FOR HIS LORDSHIP'S VIRTUES AND TALENTS,
MOST GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED
BY
HIS LORDSHIP'S
MOST OBLIGED AND OBEDIENT HUMBLE SERVANT,
ARTHUR CLIFFORD.

83727

ADVERTISEMENT.

On the marriage of the Honourable Thomas Clifford, third son of Hugh, third Lord Clifford, with the Honourable Barbara Aston, second daughter and coheirress of James, fifth Lord Aston, Standon Lordship, the seat of Sir Ralph Sadler, was sold along with the estate : but the papers, pictures, &c. were removed to Tixall Hall in Staffordshire, the ancient seat of the Astons. Here these papers remained undisturbed till a few years ago, when they were faithfully copied by the Reverend John Kirk of Litchfield. From this copy, accurately compared with the originals, this work is now printed. The originals, in four volumes, are in the library of Thomas Clifford, Esq. of Tixall. The transcript, from which the first part of the work is now reprinted, is in the Library of the Honourable Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh, but the originals, of which it is a copy, appear to be lost.

In Mr WALTER SCOTT's name, and my own, I have to return most sincere and grateful thanks to

The Right Honourable the Earl of CHARLEVILLE.

————— *Lord ASTON.*

THOMAS SADLER, Esq. of Sea Park, county of Tipperary, Ireland.

ROBERT VERNON SADLER, Esq. of Southampton.

WILLIAM HAYLEY, Esq. Author of "The Triumphs of Temper," &c.

THOMAS SHARP, Esq. of Coventry.

JAMES BROWN, Esq. of St Albans.

The Reverend HENRY WHITE of Litchfield.

All of whom have liberally contributed papers or information concerning the work. In particular, I have to acknowledge the infinite obligations which I owe to my very learned and amiable friend, the Reverend JOHN KIRK of Litchfield, without whose kindness, zeal, and ability, in copying the original papers, this work would most probably have never seen the light.

3, North Castle Street, Edinburgh, }
1st May, 1809.

ARTHUR CLIFFORD.

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BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR

OF

SIR RALPH SADLER.

THE birth of this able and celebrated statesman was neither obscure and ignoble, nor so much exalted above the middling rank of society, as to contribute in any material degree towards the splendid success of his career in life.

Ralph Sadler was the eldest son of Henry Sadleir,* or Sadleyer, Esquire, through whom he was heir, according to Fuller, to a fair inheritance. He was born in the year 1507, at Hackney, in Middlesex, where his family had been for some time settled, and had a younger brother, John Sadler, who commanded a company at the siege of Boulogne, in the year 1544. The circumstances of Henry Sadleir, their father, were not such as to exempt him from professional labour, and even from personal

* Sir Ralph seems to have dropped the *i* in spelling his name. But the orthography of proper names in this period was far from uniform. We have adopted that which he used most frequently.

dependence. Indeed the chain of feudal connection was still so entire, that the lesser gentry of the period sought not only emolument but protection, and even honour, by occupying, in the domestic establishments of the nobles, those situations, which the nobility themselves contended for in the royal household. The pride of solitary and isolated independence was unknown in a period when the force of the laws was unequal to protect those who enjoyed it, and the closer the fortunes of a private individual were linked with those of some chieftain of rank and power, the greater was the probability of his escaping all mischances, save those flowing from the fall of his patron. It does not, therefore, contradict what has been handed down to us concerning Henry Sadlier's rank and estate, that he seems to have acted in some domestic capacity, probably as steward or surveyor to a nobleman, proprietor of a manor called Cillney, near Great Hadham, in Essex.

His office, whatever it was, consisted in keeping accounts and receiving money ; so that his son had an early example of accurate habits of business, not very common in that rude military age, which proved not only the foundation of his fortune, but continued to be the means of his raising it to the highest elevation. Ralph Sadler was fortunate enough to gain a situation in the family of Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, who rose in the favour of the capricious Henry VIII. by facilitating his divorce from Queen Catharine, and who fell by procuring his union with Anne of Cleves. While he was yet in the ascent of his favour, Sadler acquired so much interest with him, as to be able to solicit a place under the crown for his father, whose noble patron had become unable to support the

expence of a feudal household. These minute particulars we learn from a letter which the elder Sadler writes to his son.*

* "Henry Sadleyer to his son Ralph, living with Mr Cromwell, concerning some demands and private concerns. Original from Cilney. Titus, B. 1. No. 48. page 153.

"Son Raff, I hartely recomaund me unto you, and send you Godd's blessing and myne. I praye you send me woord whether ye have spokyn to hym; yf ye have, I praye you, that I may have knowledge in writynge from you of his answer to you made. I trust he will knowlege, that I doe owe to the kynges grace but iiii^{li} and odde money. Yf it please hym to looke upon my booke which remayneth in his handes, therein he shall feynde a labell that shall showe the truths, (desyre hym to be good to me.) Son Raff, whereas I shoulde have had of my lorde, now at this audite, above xx markes, I can gett never a peny but fayre wordes, with whyche I cannot lyve. My lorde hathe putt away many of his yemen at this audite, and dothe intende after Christmas to putt many moe away, and both his lordeshippe and my ladye wil to the court after Christmas, and kepe a smalle house; wherefore I praye you that I may be recomanded to your good maister, and desyr hym by your humble sute, to gett me the office in the Towre as in others, so that I shall be nigh London. Good son, doe the best you can for me. I truste to be at the next terme by Godd's grace. I assure you bothe my lord and my lady shall be very lothe to depart with me, but with them I can have noe livinge; if I had, I wold not depart from them. I praye you sende for your mother, and rede this letter to her; and farder, my lorde dothe intende to lye at Cilney all this Christmas, and there to kepe a smalle Christmas, though your mother my mate as yet is not come to Cilney; whereof I marvell, for diverse cartts of Great Hadham hath byn at London diverse tymes syns I cam from home. I can noe more at this tyme, but the holy Trenytye cummfurt us all to . . . pleasure. Written at Cilney, the xvith day of December, in hast, as aperryth. Your father,

HENRY SADLEYER.

"To Raff Sadleyer, dwelling with Master Crumwell, be thes gevin.

"I thynke Richard Crumwell . . . to London now at this tyme, and will be at Cilney before; then ye maye send your lettres by hym; if he be not, Mr Antony wil be at Cilney before Christmas; the lettres ye send to me close them surely for openyng."

Ralph Sadler's favour with Lord Cromwell, and the trust which he reposed in him, soon brought him under the eye of Henry VIII. It was emphatically said of that monarch, that Henry *loved a MAN*; by which we are to understand, that the objects of his favour were distinguished by external strength, figure, and personal accomplishments, as well as by their temper and talents. In both respects Sadler was fortunate; for, though of a middling or rather low stature, he was well skilled in all exercises, and remarkable both for strength and activity; nor was his address in public business inferior to his feats of horsemanship, hunting, and chivalry. It was probably before he attracted the king's notice, that Mr Sadler became the husband of the widow of one Ralph Barrow, who does not seem to have been a person of high rank, although no good grounds have been discovered for the scandal with which Sanders and other Catholic writers have stigmatized this union. That she was a woman of credit and character, must be admitted; since Lord Cromwell, to whom she was related, not only countenanced their marriage, but was godfather to two of their children, the first of whom died in infancy.*

According to the inscription on Sadler's tomb, he entered the king's service in or about the 10th year of his reign, that is in 1518; and there are letters in the Museum which prove that he was at court before Wolsey's fall, under whose patron-

* " R. Sadler to Sec. Cromwell. Titus, B. 1. p. 343. Original.

" Syr, after myn humble comendacions, with like request, that it may plesse you to gyve me leve to trouble you, amongst your weightie affaires, with these tryffels: it is so, that my wyfe, after long travaile, and as payneful labour as any woman could have, hathe at the last brought furth a fayre boy; beseching you to

age his master Cromwell had risen to eminence. In one of these Sadler mentions to Cromwell, that "My Lord, his Grace," (the Cardinal, doubtless) had been slandered to the king, and exclaims against the ingratitude of the secretary. In another letter he seems to write to Cromwell by order of the king, about certain issues of money and prizes taken at sea.

As Sadler daily advanced in the king's favour, he became, though at what time I cannot say, clerk of the hamper, one

vouchsafe ones agayne to be gossip unto so poore a man as I am, and that he may bear your name. Trusting ye shall have more rejoyse of him then ye had of the other; and yet ther is no cause but of gret rejoyse in the other, for he dyed an innocent, and enjoyeth the joyes of heven. I wold also be right glad to have Mr Richard's wyf, or my Lady Weston, to be the godmother. Ther is a certain supersticious opinion and usage amongst women, which is, that in case a woman go with childe, she may christen no other man's childe as long as she is in that case. And therfor, not knowing whether Mr Richard's wyf be with child or not, I do name my Lady Weston. I desyre to have one of them, because they do lye so near Hackney; tomorrow in the after none shall be the tyme, and that the holie Trinite preserve you in long lyf and good helth, with much honour. At Hackney, this Saturday, at iii of the clocke at after none, with the rude and hastie hand of

Your most assured and faithful servante duringe his lyf,

RAFE SADLER.

To the right honourable and his singuler good Mr,
Maister Secretarye, be thes geven."

Some of the minute intelligence, so dear to modern antiquaries, may be gained from this gossiping business; as, 1st, that Sadler had a former son who died an infant; 2dly, we may conclude Lady Weston was either a widow or an old woman; 3dly, we may observe Sadler's simplicity in plainly telling us, that he knew not whether Mr Richard's wyf were with child or not; lastly, that Mr Sadler had not very well determined at what hour to christen his child, for he had first written *morning* and afterwards *afternoon*. But in addition to all this valuable information, the letter shews his connection with Cromwell, and the superstition which it commemorates is a singular one.

of the gentlemen of the privy chamber, and received the honour of knighthood.* And in the 30th year of Henry's reign, he was created one of his principal secretaries of state.

Sir Ralph Sadler seems to have been active in the great work of dissolving the religious houses, nor did he miss his share of the spoil. It may be supposed, that his conversion to the Protestant faith was gradual, at least, that his avowal of the reformed tenets did not precede the death of Henry VIII., who wished to die a catholic, although he seized the supremacy, and plundered the monasteries. A charter of Edward VI., to be hereafter quoted, acquaints us, that Sir Ralph Sadler acquired the advowson of the rectory and church of Kemsey, in Worcestershire; that of the rectory and church of St Martins, in London, with the manors of Bromley, in Middlesex; Haslengfield, in Cambridgeshire; Walthamstow Tong, in Essex; Aston, Tinatt, and North Merton, in Berkshire; with various portions of tythes in Gloucestershire. These grants, extensive as they were, do not seem to comprehend all the lands betowed on Sadler by the liberality of Henry VIII.

In 1537, Sadler commenced a long course of diplomatic services, by an embassy to Scotland, whose monarch, James V. was then absent in France, where he had just married a daughter of Francis I. The envoy was to greet the dowager queen Margaret, widow of James IV., to strengthen the English interest in the councils of regency which governed Scotland, and to discover the probable consequences of the intimate union between France and Scotland. This was an object of greater

* He is designed Sir Ralph Sadler, knight, in the will of Henry VIII. The honour conferred on him in the field of battle at Pinkie, consisted in his being elevated to the order of a Banneret.

importance, as, in passing through the northern counties of England, Sadler found them in an unusual state of turbulence, from the consequence of the rebellion, called the Pilgrimage of Grace. The dissatisfaction at the innovations in religion was so general, that the town of Newcastle had nearly broken out into open revolt. At no time had peace with Scotland been more essential to the English interest. But the Scottish court was as much divided by aristocratic faction, as England by popular discontent. The clergy, and such of the more powerful nobles as France had thought worthy attaching to her cause, were zealous for war with England; the lesser barons and common people had already become attached to the Reformation; the queen-dowager was utterly without power; and the continuance of the peace depended upon the resolutions to be adopted by James on his return from France. With this intelligence, Sadler returned to England in the beginning of February, 1537.

Of Sir Ralph Sadler's subsequent embassy in 1539-40, the following collection furnishes us with a particular account.—The ostensible purpose was that of maintaining, in general, a good correspondence between the crowns. But the private instructions of the envoy were, if possible, to separate James from the councils of Beaton, an ambitious prelate, the head of the faction which was favourable to France. For this purpose he was instructed to state, that Henry had discovered, among certain letters thrown into his hands by the shipwreck of a vessel near Bamborough, a dangerous plan, by which Beaton designed, under colour of the king's favour, to usurp the whole government of Scotland, and to throw it under the absolute controul of the Pope. In short, the instructions seem to infer, that Beaton was attempting the same

enterprise in Scotland, which Wolsey had almost effected in Henry's own realm; and there can be little doubt, that, in describing the danger of entrusting power to such a character, Henry had the memory of his fallen favourite brought freshly to his recollection. Sadler was further instructed to remonstrate with James on the œconomy with which he managed his crown lands, by stocking them with flocks of sheep, and to hold out to him a worthier and more kingly source of revenue in the overgrown possessions of the church, which lay at his mercy. And, on the whole, he was directed to persuade the Scottish monarch, if possible, to imitate his uncle's conduct towards the see of Rome, and to make common cause with England against France.

James received Sadler with marks of distinction and kindness; but the reasoning of his uncle made but slight impression on his mind. His high spirit revolted at the dictatorial mode in which these counsels were conveyed; he weighed the profuse liberality of Francis I. against the niggard present of a set of horses with which Sadler presented him in the name of his sovereign; he respected the talents and learning of the catholic clergy, who alone of his subjects had the education necessary to assist his councils; he preferred deriving from the churches voluntary donation, such subsidies as his affairs might require, to the odium of seizing upon her possessions, and he resolved to adhere to the faith of his forefathers. It was in vain that Sadler enlarged upon the corruptions of the clergy in manners and doctrine; the king mildly replied, "God forbid, if a few be not good, for them all the rest be destroyed!" James disdained any intention of joining France

in a league against England, but turned a deaf ear to the charge of treachery, which Sadler, according to his master's command, preferred against his minister. A meeting with Henry was warmly pressed by Sadler, and politely evaded by the Scottish monarch, who was well aware, that a sovereign ought not to meet his superior in power, unless he was prepared to subscribe to whatever should be required of him; and Sir Ralph left the Scottish court without material success in any part of his mission. In the course of this year, his patron Cromwell was disgraced and beheaded; but his fall was attended by no ill consequences to Sadler, whose interest now rested on his individual merit.

In 1541, Sadler was sent upon another embassy to Scotland, concerning which we have less distinct information. Its general scope was to detach James from the Pope and catholic clergy, whose practices Henry pronounced to be so wonderful, that "one might be lightly led by the nose and bear their yoke, yet, for blindness, not know what he doth." He was instructed again to press upon James the propriety of a personal meeting, to which the Scottish king gave a dubious consent.* The good sense and moderation which James exhibited during discussions of so delicate a nature, rendered him worthy of a more enlightened age, and of a better fate.

In 1542, the fatal battle, or rather rout of Solway, took place, in which a thousand Scottish prisoners, comprehending Glencairn, Cassilis, Maxwell, Somerville, and other nobles of the highest rank, fell into the hands of a small band of Eng-

* Pinkerton's History, vol. i. p. 374.

lish Borderers, who had approached the Scottish host, rather to observe their motions, than with any purpose of assault. By this disgraceful event, the heart of James V. was literally broken, and he died, leaving the crown to his daughter Mary, a new-born infant, whose misfortunes began in her cradle, and accompanied her, with little intermission, to her grave. In this crisis Henry formed a plan, equally moderate and sagacious, of uniting the two kingdoms by alliance, rather than conquest. For this purpose, he treated with kindness and liberality the Scottish prisoners, whom the success at Solway had placed in his power, and heaped favours upon the earl of Angus, the head of the house of Douglas, who, with his kinsmen, had long found refuge in England from the wrath of James V., and was now about to return to Scotland in consequence of his death. To these nobles, the captives, as well as the Douglasses, the English monarch entrusted a scheme of a marriage to be contracted between the infant queen of Scotland and the youthful Edward, his son and heir. Henry appears to have received from all the strongest assurances, that they would support, with their utmost power, this proposition, so soon as it should be made to the Scottish parliament. Not satisfied with these protestations, he took from the captives pledges and hostages for their returning to captivity upon his summons; and dismissed them much in the situation, though unanimated by the spirit, of the Roman Regulus. With them the earl of Angus and the Douglasses returned to Scotland, after an exile of fifteen years.

With them, also, Sir Ralph Sadler came to Scotland, in the character of ambassador of England, for achieving this im-

portant match. The prudence and art with which he conducted the negotiation, as well as the real advantages which it held forth to Scotland, might, in any other country and circumstances, have secured its success. But he had to contend with the prejudices which centuries of war had engraved in the bosom of the Scottish nation; prejudices so deep and unconquerable, that one of their most enlightened statesmen* used to Sadler these strong expressions of the national abhorrence of an English match: "Our nation, being a stout nation, will never agree to have an Englishman to be king of Scotland; and though the whole nobility of the realm would consent to it, the common people, the women with their distaffs, and the very stones in the street, would rise up and rebel against it." The impatient, haughty, and furious temper of king Henry, added to the obstacles which the ambassador had to encounter. His parsimony gave still further embarrassment. It is easy to perceive, that Henry reckoned almost solely upon the gratitude of the prisoners to whom he had given temporary freedom, and of the Douglasses whom he had protected in banishment; and that he disrelished the idea, suggested by Sadler, of refreshing, by new acts of generosity, their recollection of former favours. Threats, expostulation, and upbraiding, were arguments which Henry held to be cheaper and more efficacious, than working by gifts and promises upon the poverty and avarice of the Scottish nobility. By this course, which Sadler vainly deprecated, the party which he had formed among that body became daily more doubtful, and the stern remonstrances of the

* Sir Adam Otterburn. See vol. ii. p. 325.

English monarch only tended still farther to alienate them from his interest. On the other hand, the address of Sadler was counterbalanced by that of cardinal Beaton, who availed himself of every obstacle which the prejudices of the Scots, the imbecillity of the regent, the impatience of Henry, and the liberality of France, afforded against the English treaty. Yet, under all these disadvantages, a hollow league was agreed to, by which the Scots agreed to send their sovereign into England, so soon as she should attain the age of ten years ; and in the mean while, six hostages, of the first rank, were to be delivered to the English monarch, as pledges for the fulfilment of the treaty. This alliance was hardly ratified, ere it became obvious that it could never be carried into effect. The earls of Huntley, Argyle, Lennox, and Bothwell, Lord Home, and the Laird of Buccleuch, took up arms openly against the governor. The imprudent detention of some Scottish vessels in the ports of England, excited the irritable multitude of Edinburgh to fury against their new ally. Sadler's situation became at once embarrassing and dangerous, and he narrowly escaped assassination, a musquet being discharged at him while walking in his garden. The governor secretly meditated a revolt from the party of England, and used many devices to prevail on the ambassador to retire from Scotland. It was in vain that Sadler made him the most flattering offers, even so far as to propose that the regent should marry one of Henry's daughters, and become king of all Scotland beyond the Forth. From the regent's reply to this extravagant proposal, it seems plain, that a gratuity of a thousand pounds would have been much more acceptable than the vague hopes which it im-

plied. But this Sadler durst not promise. To the Douglasses, and to that diminished part of the Solway captives, who still pretended adherence to England, Sadler offered an auxiliary army of English. But they replied, that the name of England was so utterly detested by their countrymen, that their own friends and followers would to a man desert them, were they to accept of such odious aid. In fine, the regent, who had on the 25th of August, 1543, ratified the treaty with England, did, upon the 3d of September following, altogether renounce that alliance, and unite himself to the cardinal, and those nobles who were in arms, to oppose it. Even the patience of Sadler gave way, when he beheld the party who had so strongly vowed to maintain the interest of England melt away like a snowball; and he expresses his cordial wish and expectation that his majesty would shortly correct the untruth and folly of the Scottish, and prayed that he might either be recalled, or permitted to take refuge in some strong-hold belonging to the Douglasses, who still maintained their friendship with England. This permission being at length obtained, he left Edinburgh and retired to Tantallon, a strong castle in East Lothian, belonging to the earl of Angus. Here he abode for several weeks, better pleased with his lodging for its strength and security, than in point of accommodation; and returned to England about the beginning of December 1543, the precursor of a Scottish war, in which the destruction of Leith by the earl of Hartford, and a desolating succession of incursions on the frontiers by Evers and Latoun, avenged the perfidy of the regent.

Although Sadler had totally failed in the object of his em-

bassy, the skill and patience with which he had conducted the negociation, maintained, and even raised him in the esteem of his sovereign. Upon the death of Henry VIII., in 1547, it was found that he had bequeathed the care of his son and of the realm to sixteen of his nobility and counsellors, to whom he nominated a privy council of twelve persons. In this last number Sadler was included by the title of Sir Ralph Sadleir, knight, and he was further distinguished by a legacy of 200*l*. As the last instructions of the king to his council contained a warm recommendation to prosecute the Scottish match; there can be little doubt that Sadler was recommended to this high trust and honour, as well by his intimate acquaintance with the affairs of Scotland, as by the other qualities which had acquired Henry's confidence. It would seem he was present with the executors when the will was opened and read, and an oath taken faithfully to discharge the trust which it imposed. But a great innovation was almost immediately made upon the form of government, so solemnly ratified, by the elevation of the earl of Hartford, afterwards duke of Somerset, to be Protector of the realm. In order to reconcile the rest of the king's executors to this pre-eminence, wealth and honours were conferred on them with no sparing hand; they were named counsellors to the protector, and a commission was issued under the great seal, to warrant this new form of government, in which, however, the privy counsellors were raised to the same rank with the executors; and power was granted to the protector to assume any other commissioners whom he should think fit. The special gratification destined for Sir Ralph Sadler upon these changes, seems to have been a con-

firmation of the large grants of church lands formerly assigned to him by Henry, with splendid additions. There is said to be an illuminated deed in existence, in which Sadler is painted on his knees, receiving from Henry and Edward a grant of all the church lands, on which the town of Clifton, near Bristol, now stands, and extending down to the Severn. It would seem from the indenture below quoted, that various exchanges were made between the crown and Sir Ralph Sadler, all doubtless to the advantage of the grantee.*

* “ WHEREAS, our dear father, king Henry VIII., by indenture under the great seal of Court of Augmentation, dated Westminster, 10th March, 31st year, granted to Anthony Southwell, of his household gentlemen, *inter alia*, Allesborough, Grange, and certain other lands, containing 279 acres in the whole, being the demesne lands of late monastery of Pershore, in Worcestershire, and lying within parishes of Pershore; and also 197 acres of pasture and meadow land, lying in Pershore and Flodbury, part of possessions of said monastery for 21 years, paying annually for same and scite of said late monastery, 27l. 18s. 7½d.

And said king, by another indenture dated 15th April, 32d year, granted to Richard Randall of London, *inter alia*, the sheepcote of Cotesden, county Gloucester, late reserved and occupied by abbot and convent of Wynchelcombe, in said county; together with manor of Rowell, and the tythes of said sheepcote, Rowell, and Halling, in said county for 21 years, paying annually 30l. 6s. 8d.

And said king, by another indenture dated 10th October, 31st year, granted to Michael Cameswell, gentleman, Whitmore Grange, with houses, lands, &c. within said Grange, containing 181 acres, and four acres in Whitmore Park, lately belonging to the dissolved monastery of the blessed Mary in Coventry, for 21 years, paying annually 15l. 8s. 4d.

And said king, by another indenture dated 12th April, 32d year, granted to Anthony Denny, Esq. the manor of Nasing or Nasingbury, in Essex, belonging to late monastery of Waltham Holy-cross, in said county, certain lands there also, and the rectory of Nasing for 21 years, paying annually 31l. 18s.

And said king, in consideration of 66l. 13s. 4d. paid into the Augmentation

The war with Scotland had been rather suspended than closed by a short peace, and hostilities with France being now ended, the protector and his council, resolving to resume the subject of the Scottish match, dispatched a solemn summons, requiring the fulfilment of the treaty formerly concluded under the conduct of Sir Ralph Sadler. Upon a blunt

Court, by aforesaid Anthony Denny, granted to him by his patent, dated 28th September, 36th year, the reversion of said manor and rectory of Nasing before demised, for 35 years more, paying as before.

Know ye, &c. that in consideration of the rectory and church of Kemsey, in county of Worcester, with the advowson of same granted “ by our faithful servant, Ralph Sadleyr, knight, one of the gentlemen of our Privy Chamber, to our most dear father,” sealed with his seal, and dated 19th September, 38th Henry VIII. and the advowson of rectory and church of St Martin in London, in like manner given by said R. S. to our said father, dated 1st January, 38th year; and in consideration of the manors of Bromeley, in Middlesex, Haslingefeld, in Cambridgeshire, Walthamstow Tong, in Essex, Aston-Tinall and North Morton, in Berkshire, diverse portions of tythes in Gloucestershire, and all other messuages, lands, tenements, &c. to us by said R. S. granted by indenture, dated 10th June, 1st year, “ and for the performance and fulfilment of the testament and last will of our said father,” and for 500 merks paid to our said father by R. S., and for 1837l. 1s. 8d. paid by said R. S. into our Augmentation Court to our use; we have given and granted to R. S. the reversion and reversions of all the said premises in aforesaid indentures expressed, together with all the profits, &c. *therein reserved*. We give also the manor of Stoke Episcopi, or Bishopstoke, in county Gloucester, late part of possessions of Bishop of Worcester, the manor of Heinbury Salt Marsh, in said county, the hundred, liberties and franchises of Heinbury, late part of possessions of Bishop of Worcester, Sned Park and Pen Park, in said county, late belonging to Bishop of Worcester, with all rights, deer warrens, &c. and the advowson of vicarage of Heinbury, with all manner of rights and privileges to said above grants in any wise appertaining, [enumerated through about 50 lines of original.]

We give also the manor of Swynnyng, in county Gloucester, late appertaining

and unqualified refusal, the protector prepared to invade Scotland at the head of an army of between 12,000 and 15,000 infantry, 1300 men at arms, and 2800 light horsemen, all ex-

to monastery of Wynehelcombe, together with certain lands, a grove and wood, late to same monastery belonging, with the great and small tythes, within said manor. Also, the lordship and manor of Allesborough, in county Worcester, late belonging to Pershore monastery, with all hamlets, lands, tythes, &c. therein, save certain exceptions. Also, the manor of Olveston, in county Gloucester, late possession of Priory of Bath.

And certain lands in Waltham aforesaid, parcel of the possessions of late Marquis of Exeter, and Gertrude, his wife, lately attainted of high treason. Also, certain lands called Cussoners, in Waltham, the scite, &c. of the quire of the Carmelites Church, in Coventry, and the church-yard of Carmelites Church, in Fleet-Street, London, with the rectory of Welford, in county Gloucester.

[Now follows a particular enumeration of *all* the grants before recited, both in the indentures and otherwise, with much additional minutiae, and various amplifications, and in at least 150 lines is granted in the fullest manner, all manner of rights and privileges, in any ways appertaining thereto enjoyed by former possessors.]

Which same lordships or manors of Bishopstoke and Heinbury, and premises thereunto belonging, are now extended at the clear annual value of 119l. 14s. 1½d. the 10s. not deducted.

Mansion in Stroude, &c. 10l. Manor Twynnyng and Upham, 71l. 2s. 7d. Manor of Attesborough, and other premises in Attesborough, Streynsham, Fladbury, and Pershore, 79l. 12s. 2d. Attesborough Grange and demesne lands of Pershore, 10l. 7s. 11½d. Manor of Olveston, 21l. 12s. 5½d. Manor of Rowell, &c. 29l. 6s. 8d. Whitmore Grange, &c. 12l. 8s. 4d. Messuage lands and tenements in Slackstede, late monastery of Hyde, in county Southampton, 9l. 9s. 5¼d. Manor or Farm of Woodredon, late monastery of Waltham Cross, 8l. Manor of Sewardston, &c. 27l. 4s. 10d. Manor and rectory of Nasing, 31l. 18s. Lands in Waltham, late Marquis of Exeter, and Gertrude, his wife, 6l. Cussoners Lands, 35l. Soil, scite, &c. of church of Carmelites in Coventry, 6s. 8d. and Church-yard Carmelites in London, 20l.

cellently appointed, and perfectly disciplined. Sir Ralph Sadler held the important post of treasurer to this gallant army; and from his accounts, which the reader will find in page 355, it appears, that the expenses of maintaining and paying the forces from the first of August till the 20th of November, 1547, amounted to 45,912l. 12s. sterling.

It was at the head of this army that Somerset gained the bloody and decisive battle of Pinkie, over the numerous, but

To have, hold, &c. in capite by service of twentieth part of a knight's fee, and to render annually to us, and our successors, as follows, viz. For Bishopstoke, 11l. 19s. 5d. Twynnyng, 7l. 2s. 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. Attesborough, 7l. 19s. 3d. Attesborough Grange, 1l. 0s. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Olveston, 2l. 3s. 3d. Slackstede, 18s. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Whitmore, 1l. 4s. 10d. Woodredon, 16s. Sewearatson, 2l. 14s. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Nasing, 3l. 3s. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. and the Messuage in Stroude, and scites of two Carmelite churches or church-yards in Burgage.

[Then follow sundry exceptions and reservations for corrodies, pensions, collectors of rents, wardens charges, &c.—the latter are specified, and amount to 10l. 13s. 8d.]

Witness ourselves at Westminster, 30th June, (1st year.)

This is first found in the amplified grant of Bishopstoke, Heinbury, &c. late possessions of Bishop of Worcester, in following words: "And also all that capital messuage or mansion, with the appurtenances, situate and being in the parish of Stroude, near London, late parcel of the possessions of said Bishop of Worcester, and all and singular lands, tenements, edifices, stables, gardens, orchards, &c. and also all and singular other messuages, &c. &c. lying and being in Stroude afore-said, late parcel of the possessions of said Bishop of Worcester." The original instrument occupies 25 sheets. For this abstract of its contents, I am indebted to Thomas Sharpe, Esq. of Coventry. Other grants to Sir Ralph Sadler are mentioned in Dugdale's "Warwickshire," Dr Thomas's edition, pages 186, 300, 487, 526. All tending to shew, how deeply he participated in the spoils acquired by the sweeping work of reformation.

ill disciplined, feudal array of Scotland. In this battle, Sir Ralph Sadler distinguished himself both for his conduct and gallantry, in so much, that he was raised to the degree of Knight Banneret, on the field of battle. The particular services which procured him this honourable distinction, appear to have been, the activity which he displayed in rallying the English cavalry, when repulsed by the Scottish spearmen at the beginning of the conflict,* and, according to tradition, his seizing, with his own hand, the royal standard of Scotland. A tall standard pole, plated with iron as high as a horseman's sword could reach, long remained beside his tomb. It was believed to have been the staff from which the Scottish banner was displayed, and was appealed to for the truth of the tradition.†

The rank to which Sir Ralph Sadler was thus raised from the degree of Knight Bachelor, may be called the very pinnacle of chivalry. Knight Bannerets could only be created by the king himself, or, which was very rare, by a general vested with such powers as to represent his person. They were dubbed before or after a battle, in which the royal standard was displayed; and the person so to be honoured being brought before the king, led by two distinguished knights

* "In the battle of Musleborow, he ordered to be brought up our scattered troops, next degree to a route, inviting them to fight by his own example." FULLER's *Worthies*, p. 183.

† I do not find that Patten, the minute historian of Somerset's expedition, mentions this exploit of Sir Ralph Sadler, nor indeed the capture of the royal standard of Scotland. Neither does he commemorate his being created knight banneret; of which, however, there can be no doubt, as it is mentioned in king Edward's own Journal.

or nobles, presented to the sovereign his pennon, having an indenture like a swallow's tail at the extremity.* The king then cut off the forked extremity, rendering the banner square, in

* The shape of the banner originally determined the number of followers, whom the leader commanded; and a banneret was expected to lead into the field ten vassals, each properly attended. The most lively description of the creation of a banneret occurs in Froissart's Account of the Battle of Najara, fought by the Black Prince against Henry of Castile. "When the sun was risen, it was a beautiful sight to view these battalions, with their brilliant armour glittering with its beams. In this manner, they nearly approached to each other. The prince, with a few attendants, mounted a small hill, and saw very clearly the enemy marching straight towards them. Upon descending this hill, he extended his line of battle in the plain, and then halted.

"The Spaniards seeing the English had halted, did the same, in order of battle: then each man tightened his armour, and made ready as for instant combat.

"Sir John Chandos advanced in front of the battalions, with his banner uncased in his hand. He presented it to the prince, saying: 'My lord, here is my banner: I present it to you, that I may display it in whatever manner shall be most agreeable to you; for, thanks to God, I have now sufficient lands that will enable me so to do, and maintain the rank which it ought to hold.'

"The prince Don Pedro being present, took the banner in his hands, which was blazoned with a sharp stake gules on a field argent: after having cut off the tail to make it square, he displayed it, and, returning it to him by the handle, said: 'Sir John, I return you your banner. God give you strength and honor to preserve it.'

"Upon this, sir John left the prince, went back with the banner in his hand, and said to them: 'Gentlemen, behold my banner and yours: you will therefore guard it as becomes you.' His companions, taking the banner, replied with much cheerfulness, that 'if it pleased God and St George, they would defend it well, and act worthily of it, to the utmost of their abilities.'

"The banner was put into the hands of a worthy English squire, called William Allestry, who bore it with honor that day, and loyally acquitted himself in the service." *JOHNES'S Froissart, I. 731.*

shape similar to that of a baron, which, thereafter, the knight banneret might display in every pitched field, in that more noble form. If created by the king, the banneret took precedence of all other knights; but if by a general, only of knights of the Bath and knights Bachelors. Sir Francis Brian, commander of the light horsemen, and Sir Ralph Vane, lieutenant of the men at arms, received this honour with our Sir Ralph Sadler on the field of Pinkie. But he survived his companions, and is said to have been the last knight banneret of England.

I have discovered no trace of Sir Ralph Sadler's being employed in public affairs during the rest of Edward's short reign. He unquestionably retained his place in the council; and in a grant dated 4th Edward VI. and quoted by Dugdale, in his "Warwickshire," he is termed "then master of the great wardrobe." His prudence, probably, prevented him from attaching himself zealously to any of the factions, whose strife and mutual hatred disturbed the quiet of their amiable sovereign, excited rebellion among his people, and lost all the advantage his arms had gained in the battle of Pinkie.

In the reign of Philip and Mary, it would seem that Sir Ralph Sadler retired to his estate near Hackney. A courtier, who had risen under the auspices of Cromwell, and participated so largely in the spoils of the church of Rome, must have been no favourite with the existing government. Accordingly, he resigned his office of clerk of the Hamper to propitiate Archbishop Heath, then chancellor, * and per-

* Vol. I, p. 370.

haps made other concessions, of the nature and extent of which we are now ignorant. Yet we have positive evidence, that Sir Ralph Sadler was so far from being in absolute disgrace, that he was, in some degree, trusted by the sovereign, even during this reign. For there are two letters from Mary, printed in the following collection, empowering and commanding Sir Ralph Sadler to arm and equip as many able men as he could maintain, and to keep them ready upon an hour's notice, for the suppression of popular tumults. It is probable that, notwithstanding this proof of confidence, Sir Ralph Sadler did not think his prosperity secure till the accession of queen Elizabeth.

So soon as this event took place, he was called to the privy council of his new sovereign, and, until the day of his death, retained a great portion of her regard and esteem; no man being more frequently employed by Elizabeth in services of the highest trust and importance. He was a member of her first parliament, and continued to be a representative of the people in most, if not all, the sessions of her reign. At the end of this work, there are several notes of his speeches in the House of Commons, and at the Council Board, full of energy and good sense; and although usually on the side of the court, yet expressed with becoming independence. The first diplomatic office in which he was engaged, during this reign, was of great consequence, and its success paved the way for the absolute influence which Elizabeth afterwards obtained in the affairs of Scotland; an influence which all the blood and treasure expended by her ancestors to conquer that king-

dom had utterly failed to acquire. The Reformation had now made such progress in that kingdom, that a league of Protestant nobles took arms, to secure the liberty of conscience, under the title of Lords of the Congregation. Mary of Lorraine, queen dowager, and now regent, endeavoured, by the assistance of French forces and French money, to suppress this insurrection. Both parties became embittered against each other, and it was obvious, that a final and decisive conflict was not far distant. In this, the sagacity of Cecil saw that the queen regent, armed with legal authority, supported by disciplined forces, and furnished from France with means of paying them, must ultimately prevail over a league who had only religious zeal, and the tumultuary assemblage of their feudal retainers, to oppose against such advantages. But Scotland, if reduced to the situation of a French province, and ruled by a catholic queen, who boasted some pretensions to the throne of Elizabeth, must have been a most inauspicious neighbour to England.* It was therefore resolved to support the protestant nobility in their struggle with the queen regent; but with such secrecy, as neither to bring upon the Lords of the Congregation the odium of being the friends and pensioners of England, nor to engage Elizabeth in an open war with her sister and rival.

To manage the intrigues necessary for the successful execution of this plan, it was necessary an accredited agent should

* See Cecil's reasoning on this subject, as extracted by Bishop Keith, from Crawford of Drumsoy's *Memorials*, Vol. I. p. 168.

be sent to the frontier. With this view, a commission was granted to the earl of Northumberland, Sir Ralph Sadler, and Sir James Crofts, to settle certain disputes concerning Border matters, with commissioners, to be named by the queen-regent of Scotland, and to direct the repairs proposed to be made on the fortifications of Berwick, and other Border fortresses. But the object was only to furnish ostensible reasons for Sadler making a long stay in the town of Berwick, whence he could most easily correspond with the Lords of the Congregation. By his private instructions in Cecil's hand-writing, he was empowered to treat with any manner of person in Scotland, to distribute money as he should think proper to the extent of L.3000, always with such discretion and secrecy, as not to impair the peace lately concluded with Scotland. The use of the earl of Northumberland's name in the general commission was merely ostensible. As that nobleman professed the Catholic religion, he would have been in every respect an improper agent in behalf of the Lords of the Congregation. But Sadler appears to have reposed unlimited confidence in Sir James Crofts, the other commissioner.

Sadler opened and carried on the negotiation with his usual ability, of which the numerous letters now offered to the public afford an interesting proof. But notwithstanding repeated supplies of money, it became gradually more and more obvious, that the aid of England must appear in the decided shape of auxiliary forces, if the Lords of the Congregation were to be saved from destruction. For this purpose, the duke of Norfolk was sent to Berwick to conclude an open and avow-

ed treaty with the Scottish protestants. But although the deputation of a person of such high rank gave a higher degree of solemnity to the negotiation, it continued chiefly to be managed by Sir Ralph Sadler, whose name, as well as that of the duke, appears in most of the letters to the council. Indeed, the duke, in his instructions, was repeatedly enjoined to use the council of Sir Ralph Sadler rather than of any military man, as the queen still entertained hopes that hostilities might be prevented.* When the auxiliary army under Lord Gray had entered Scotland, and besieged the French troops of the queen-regent in the town of Leith, Elizabeth directed the duke of Norfolk to send Sir Ralph Sadler to the camp, in hopes that he might be able to treat with the regent, and at the same time to remove from the mind of the protestants all suspicion, that their interest would be sacrificed to obtain peace.† Accordingly, in April 1560, Sadler appears to have joined the army before Leith. On the 5th day of May, the earl of Arran, then a leader of the Congregation, writes to Cecil, that the arrival of Sir Ralph Sadler had restored their spirits.‡ He witnessed the disastrous consequences of a rash assault made upon Leith by the English, in which they lost many men. Above all, he had probably a principal share in the treaty of Leith, so highly honourable to Elizabeth, by which she stipulated for her Scottish allies the security of their religion, liberty, and possessions; and for herself, a full acknowledgment of her right to the crown of England. The garrison of Leith

* None of these letters have been reprinted in this collection, as they are already to be found in that of Murdin and Haynes.

† Murdin, Vol. I. p. 286.

‡ Ibid. p. 303.

was surrendered, and the French governor regaled the leaders of the besiegers with a feast of fifty dishes composed out of one dead horse ; a circumstance which marks national manners, as well as the extremity to which the place was reduced.

It does not appear how Sir Ralph Sadler was employed during the five succeeding years, or whether he had any duty to discharge besides that of a privy counsellor. But there can be no doubt that he continued to maintain his place in Elizabeth's opinion, since, in the 10th year of her reign, he was created chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, vacant by the death of Sir Ambrose Cave, and was employed in matters of even higher delicacy and weight, than had been yet intrusted to his care.

In 1568, when Elizabeth had determined to treat a fugitive princess, who had fled to her for protection, as an accused criminal, and had named commissioners to hear the cause of queen Mary pleaded at York, Sir Ralph Sadler was conjoined with the duke of Norfolk and earl of Sussex, in order to compose that extraordinary tribunal. Indeed, of the three, he seems to have been most trusted ; for so soon as the mode in which the enquiry was conducted gave reason to believe that Norfolk meant to discountenance the accusation, Sadler was ordered to court to give an account of their proceedings. He was also a member of the new commission which sat at Westminster for the same purpose.

Meanwhile, the effects of Norfolk's intrigues began to be apparent. The earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, relying upon the co-operation of the duke, and of the ancient nobility, openly took arms for the deliverance of queen Mary, and the restoration of the catholic religion. An army

was speedily levied against them, under the command of the earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler again occupied the situation of treasurer, or paymaster-general. It is not improbable, that his presence was considered as a check upon Sussex, who, besides his rivalry with the favourite Leicester, lay under a certain degree of suspicion from his alliance with Norfolk. But the letters of Sadler, whose intelligence was doubtless relied upon by Elizabeth and her ministers, were in the highest degree favourable to Sussex. After suppression of the rebellion, the insurgent earls, with some of their principal followers, retreated into Scotland. Northumberland fell into the power of the regent Murray; but Westmoreland being sheltered by the laird of Fernherst, Sadler employed a person named Robert Constable, a relation of the unfortunate fugitive, to seduce him to come back to England, under the promise of protection, and then to deliver him up to the severity of the law. The person to whom this negotiation was entrusted was by birth a gentleman, although his family was then stained by treason, as afterwards by regicide *. But his quality did not prevent him from undertaking this treacherous commission, as the thirst of lucre could not, on the other hand, altogether subdue his own sense of the infamy of his conduct. And between avarice, hypocrisy, and remorse, his letters to Sadler form a most extraordinary picture of guilt contending with shame. The answers of Sir Ralph are remarkable, as disdaining to qualify the infamy of the task otherwise than by increasing the bribe. He treats Constable as the traitor he had

* See Volume II. p. 337. note.

made himself; and, appealing only to his avarice, makes no capitulation with his feelings whatsoever. But fortunately for Westmoreland, the negociation was unsuccessful.

After the northern army was disbanded, we find Sir Ralph Sadler, in 1672, employed as one of the commissioners for examining the Duke of Norfolk, lately his coadjutor in trusts of a similar nature. The issue of the enquiry was the trial and execution of the unfortunate nobleman.

In 1578, James of Scotland, who had now taken the reins of government into his own hands, desirous to propitiate a counsellor, whose assistance had been so often used in affairs concerning his kingdom, honoured Sir Ralph Sadler with a letter, in which he thanks him for the care he had always exhibited, to maintain a good understanding between England and Scotland, and recommends to his good offices, an ambassador, whom he had dispatched to his dearest sister, queen Elizabeth.

Meanwhile, James's dearest mother was drawing out a miserable existence in exile and imprisonment, under the custody of George Earl of Shrewsbury, whose castle was converted into a prison, his servants into guards, his porter into a turn-key, his wife into a spy, and himself into a jailor, to gratify the ever-waking jealousy of queen Elizabeth. It was a hard part of this nobleman's fate, that the most assiduous attention to his charge, joined to all these personal sacrifices, were insufficient to procure him the favour of the sovereign, who had condemned him to this odious task. Elizabeth seems to have involuntarily attributed such fascination to her rival, that she suspected the fidelity of all who came within the reach of her attraction. The queen of England had also the attribute of

many proud spirits, who hate those who possess the power of injuring them, even when they display no inclination to use it; and to her no danger could have been so alarming as the treachery of Mary's guardians. * To make assurance yet more sure, she repeatedly dispatched different counsellors to her captive, as well to watch the demeanour of Shrewsbury himself, and the order of his household, as to try, under some plausible pretext of treaty, what secrets could be extracted from the unfortunate Mary. Sir Ralph Sadler was thus employed more than once.

In 1580, after repeated intreaties to be relieved of a trust, so hateful in itself, and which subjected him to constant suspicion, Shrewsbury was permitted to come to court, and recei-

* See Lodge's Illustrations, in many places, but particularly, vol. 2. p. 244. where the ingenious editor supplies the following note :

"Anxious for his fidelity, and dreading the escape of his wretched prisoner as the greatest misfortune that could befall her, we might reasonably suppose that she would have loaded him with her bounty; that his very wishes would have been anticipated, and no means neglected to attach him more firmly to her interest: but he experienced a treatment directly contrary. The queen not only suspected him, but was continually imparting her suspicions to himself; refused him the comfort of seeing his own children; made herself a party against him in a dispute between him and the Countess, which had given him great uneasiness; espoused the cause of his factious tenants at the council board; denied him access to her presence; and, to complete his inconveniencies, at last diminished an allowance granted to defray the necessary charges attending his trust, though the sum was originally so scanty, as to require an addition from his own purse. This little narrative would appear absolutely incredible, were it not supported, in every circumstance, by the evidence of these papers. What Elizabeth's motives were for so strange, and apparently so impolitic a conduct, is a question that defies all conjecture; Shrewsbury's obedience, however, could have been dictated only by those enthusiastic sentiments of loyalty, which were not unfrequent in the days of absolute monarchy."

ved from Elizabeth a promise, that the custody of Mary should be intrusted to some other person. During his absence, Sir Ralph Sadler, and Sir Henry Mildmay, were appointed her temporary guardians. Ashby de la Zouche, the castle of the Earl of Huntingdon, and Milbourne castle, were alternately named as the place of her residence, to which she was to be conducted with secrecy, avoiding market towns, or any place of public resort, and travelling by other ways than the common high road. The commissioners were also empowered to seize upon all Mary's letters and correspondence, if necessary, by breaking open her cabinets, and other places where they might be found. But this branch of the "good and honourable service intrusted to them," was not performed till long after. Neither did the proposed change of captivity take place, Shrewsbury continuing to have the custody of Queen Mary till the year 1584. He was then again permitted to come to court, and by the Queen and council formally declared free from all suspicion, and of unblemished fidelity in his charge. Meanwhile Sir Ralph Sadler supplied his place, as governor of the garrison of soldiers, whom the Earl was forced to maintain, to keep watch and ward in his castle of Wingfield, though he could hardly extort from Elizabeth money to pay their wages. The unfortunate prisoner expressed herself gratified, that the custody of her person had devolved upon an ancient counsellor, formerly of her acquaintance; and in her communications with him, urged every argument to obtain, either liberty, or at least some relaxation of her imprisonment. Among others of similar tendency, the following singular conversation is reported by Sadler to have passed between them.

“Here falling into other talk, she asked me whether I thought she would escape from hence or no, if she might. I answered plainly, I believed she would; for it is natural for every thing to seek liberty, that is kept in strait subjection. No, by my trothe, quod she, ye are deceived in me; for my heart is so great, that I had rather die in this sort with honour than run away with shame. I said I would be sorry to see the trial. Then she asked me, if she were at liberty with the queen’s majesty’s favour, whither I thought she would go. I think, quod I, madam, you would go to your own in Scotland, as it is good reason, and command there. It is true, quod she, I would go thither indeed, but only to see my son, and to give him good counsel. But unless her majesty would give her countenance and some maintenance in England, would go into France, and live there among her friends with that little portion she hath there, and never trouble herself with government again, nor dispose herself to marry any more, seeing she had a son that is a man; but said she would never stay long there, nor would govern where she hath received so many evil treatments: for her heart could not abide to look upon those folk that had done her that evil, being her subjects; whereof there are yet many remaining; for I had told her that they were almost all dead. Ever in her talk beseeching her majesty to make a trial of her, that with some honourable end she may live the rest of her days out of this captivity, as she termeth it.”

This conversation seems to have made such impression on Sadler, that in a subsequent letter, after observing that he saw no end to the matter, but by the lady’s death, which was not to be looked for, for many years, or by her being set at liber-

ty on treaty, he ventures obliquely to recommend the latter alternative. The possibility of anticipating the course of nature, never seems to have occurred to him. *

The letters of Sir Ralph frequently conclude with allusions to his old age, and the severity of the season, which he repeatedly urges as reasons for relieving him of his charge; until Elizabeth honoured him with a letter under her own hand, promising speedily to grant his request, but in the mean while enjoining "old trust, with new diligence." † To add to his distresses, about the middle of December the castle of Wingfield, the abode of a captive queen, and of this aged counselor her guardian, esteemed the richest commoner in England, was threatened with nothing less than a famine. Sadler writes, that besides lack of victuals and drink, there was no wood to burn, and no litter or forage to be had for his horses. This seems to have been in some degree an artificial scarcity, raised or increased by the Earl of Shrewsbury's retainers, by the private instructions of their master, who longed to see his castle delivered of these unwelcome guests, and judiciously thought, that famine and cold were the most likely means to hasten their change of residence. In the midst of January, 1584-5, Mary was removed to the castle of Tutbury, then empty of furniture, a want afterwards supplied with such scandalous and beggarly parsimony, as to draw down a rebuke, even from the economical Elizabeth. Two circumstances happened, one in the course of the journey, and the other while Mary abode at Tutbury, illustrative of the jealous care with which even Sir

* Vol. III. p. 174.

† Ibid. p. 218.

Ralph Sadler's guardianship of Mary was watched by the spies of Elizabeth. In their lodgings at Derby, where Mary halted for a night, the Scottish queen went courteously up to the mistress of the house, and saluted her, saying, she was come to give her inconvenience, but, as they were both widows, they would agree well enough, having no husbands to trouble them. For permitting this intercourse of ordinary civility, and for having used the common high-road in their journey to Tutbury, Sir Ralph's conduct was so reported at court, as to render it necessary that he should justify himself.* A more heavy complaint against him, was afterwards grounded on his having permitted Mary to accompany him at some distance from the castle of Tutbury, to enjoy the sport of hawking. This last instance of suspicion and cruelty, seems to have driven Sadler to the extremity of his patience, as it produced rather an expostulation than an apology. He admitted he had sent for his hawks and falconers to divert "the miserable life" which he passed at Tutbury, and that he had been unable to resist the solicitation of the prisoner, to permit her to see a sport in which she greatly delighted. But he adds, that this was under the strictest precautions for security of her person. And he declares to the secretary, that rather than continue a charge which subjected him to such misconstruction, were it not more for fear of offending the queen than dread of the punishment, he would abandon his present charge on condition of surrendering himself prisoner to the Tower for all the days of his life; and concludes, that he is so weary of this life,

* Vol. III. p. 262.

that death itself would make him most happy. To Walsingham he used yet stronger obtestations. "I could not omit to write, only to render mine humble thanks unto your lordship for your careful solicitation of my deliverance from this charge, wherein I beseech your lordship down in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, to continue your goodness towards me, being now overwhelmed with care, sorrow, and grief, whereunto your lordship knoweth that wayward age is always subject, being restrained from the liberty accustomed, trusting that her majesty will have pity and compassion upon me, and now, in respect of my years, will deliver me, according to her most gracious promise." The queen was, at length, pleased to listen to the supplications of her aged servant, and Mary was committed to the custody of her last and sternest keepers, Drurie and Paulett.

In 1587, the talents of Sadler were, for the last time, employed in the public service, for he was in that year dispatched to Scotland. As it was about the period of Queen Mary's execution, Elizabeth probably trusted to his sagacity and well known acquaintance with Scottish affairs, to assist in dissuading James from taking any measures to avenge his mother's death. The counsels of Sadler, we may presume, joined with the letters of Hunsden, Leicester, and Walsingham, soothed the ambition, and wrought on the pusillanimity of James, until all thoughts of vengeance were lost in the prospect of the English succession.

It was during Sadler's last embassy in Scotland, according to Fuller, that a magnificent structure was erected for his residence upon the manor of Standon, in Hertfordshire. But

when Sir Ralph returned, he thought his steward had exceeded his wishes in the size and extent of the building, and never took much pleasure in it.* The period of his labours, as well as of his splendour, was now approaching; for he died soon after his return from Scotland, in the year of God 1607, and the eightieth of a life, spent in conducting transactions of the highest national importance. He was buried under a splendid monument in Standon church, of which the reader will find an engraving in this work, and some description in the Appendix.

Sir Ralph Sadler died rich both in possessions and lineage. A genealogical account of his descendants will be found in the Appendix. The extent of his lands obtained him the character of the richest commoner of England, and, although Queen Elizabeth was as parsimonious in bestowing titles of nobility, as her successor was profuse, it is probable that Sir Ralph Sadler might have gained that rank, had he been desirous of aspiring to it. But from various minute circumstances in the following volumes, as well as from the uniform favour which he enjoyed during so many reigns, we are enabled to collect, that the prudence of this statesman was greater than his ambition. In his negotiations, nothing is more remarkable than the accuracy with which he calculates the

* This house is now in ruins. On the marriage of the first Lord Aston with the grand-daughter of Sir Ralph, it became the family seat of the Astons, and continued so for many generations, till the middle of the last century, when it was sold along with the manor and estate; and being deserted and neglected, it fell into decay, and is now almost completely demolished. A view of it in its entire state may be seen in CHAUNCY'S *History of Hertfordshire*.

means to be used, in relation to the end to be obtained ; and in pursuit of his fortune he seems no less heedfully to have proportioned his object to his capacity of gaining it with honour and safety. The story of the manor house at Standon, shews that his moderation accompanied him to the grave ; as his high employments during the very year of his death, prove that his talents remained unclouded to the last. The following papers, relating almost entirely to public transactions, do not enable us to draw an accurate picture of the individual, although they display in the highest degree the talents of the statesman. But this deficiency is in some measure supplied by the industry of Lloyd, who has left the following character of Sir Ralph Sadler among his State Worthies.

“ King Henry understood two things : 1. A man : 2. A dish of meat ; and was seldom deceived in either : For a man, none more complete than Sir Ralph [Sadler,] who was at once a most exquisite writer, and a most valiant and experienced soldier ; qualifications that seldom meet, (so great is the distance between the sword and the pen, the coat of mail and the gown,) yet divided this man and his time ; his night being devoted to contemplation, and his days to action. Little was his body, but great his soul ; the more vigorous, the more contracted. Quick and clear were his thoughts, speedy and resolute his performances. It was he that could not endure the spending of that time in designing one action, which might perform two ; or that delay in performing two, that might have designed twenty. A great estate he got honestly, and spent nobly ; knowing that princes honour them most, that have most ; and the people them only that employ most : A prince hath more

reason to fear money that is spent, than that which is hoarded ; for it is easier for subjects to oppose a prince by applause than by armies. Reward (said Sir Ralph when he was offered a sum of money) should not empty the king's coffers ; neither should riches be the pay of worth, which are merely the wages of labour : He that gives it, embaseth a man ; he that takes it vilifieth himself : who is so most rewarded is least. Since honour hath lost the value of a reward, men have lost the merit of virtue, and both become mercenary ; men lusting rather after the wealth that buyeth, than after the qualities that deserve it.

“ Two things, he observed, broke treaties ; jealousy, when princes are successful ; and fear, when they are unfortunate. Power, that hath need of none, makes all confederacies, either when it is felt, or when it is feared, or when it is envied.

“ Three things Cato repented of ; 1. That he went by water when he might go by land ; 2. That he trusted a woman with a secret ; 3. That he lost time. Two things Sir Ralph repented for : 1. That he had communicated a secret to two. 2. That he had lost any hour of the morning between four a clock and ten.

“ He learned in king Henry the Eighth's time, as Cromwell's instrument, what he must advise (in point of religion) in Queen Elizabeth's time, as an eminent counsellour : His maxim being this, that zeal was the duty of a private breast, and moderation the interest of a publick state. The Protestants, Sir Ralph's conscience would have in the commencement of Queen Elizabeth, kept in hope ; the Papists, his prudence would not have cast into despair. It was a maxim at that time in another

case, that France should not presume, nor Spain be desperate.

“ He saw the interest of this state altered six times, and died an honest man: the crown put upon four heads, yet he continued a faithful subject: religion changed, as to the publick constitution of it, five times, yet he kept the faith.

“ A Spartan one day boasted, that his countrymen had been often buried in Athens; the Athenian replied; but we are most of us buried at home. So great was Sir Ralph’s success in the Northern wars, that many a Scotchman found his grave in England; so exact his conduct and wariness, that few Englishmen had theirs in Scotland; the same ground giving them their coffin, that did their cradle; and their birth, that did their death. Our knight’s two incomparable qualities, were discipline and intelligence; the last discovered him all the enemies advantages, and the first gave them none.

“ His two main designs were, 1. An interest in his prince, by service; 2. An alliance with the nobility by marriage: upon which two bottoms he raised himself to that pitch of honour and estate, that time could not wear out, nor any alterations embezzle; he bequeathing to his worshipful posterity the blessing of heaven upon his integrity; the love of mankind for his worth; and (as Mr Fuller saith) a pardon granted him when he attended my lord Cromwell at Rome, for the sins of his family for three immediate generations, (expiring in R. Sadler, Esquire, lately dead.) His last negotiation was that in Scotland, during the troubles there about Queen Mary: So searching and pearning he was, that no letter or adviso passed, whereof he had not a copy; so civil and obliging, that there was no

party that had not a kindness for him ; so grave and solid, that he was present at all counsels ; so close and unseen, that his hand, though unseen, was in every motion of that state : and so successfull, that he left the nobility so divided, that they could not design any thing upon the king ; and the king so weak, that he could not cast off the queen ; and all so tottering, that they must depend on Queen Elizabeth.

“ Three things he bequeathed such as may the honour to succeed him, 1. All letters that concerned him since of years, filed ; 2. All occurrences, since he was capable of observation, registred ; 3. All expenses, since he lived of himself, booked. Epaminondas was the first Grecian, and Sir Ralph Sadler was one of the last Englishmen.”* LLOYD’S *State Worthies*, p. 95.

* Of the first of these legacies bequeathed by Sir Ralph Sadler, the public now enjoys the benefit by means of this publication ; the loss of the second is matter of deep regret.

EMBASSY TO SCOTLAND

IN

1539-40.

VOL. I.

A

Henry VIII. being desirous of cultivating a good understanding with his Nephew James V. of Scotland, dispatched Sir Ralph Sadler to the Scottish court in 1539-40. His ostensible commission related to matters of compliment and courtesy ; but, by his private instructions, he was directed to instill into James suspicions against Cardinal Bethune, then his prime-minister. This leading point being gained, the English monarch seems to have hoped that James might be induced to imitate his uncle's conduct, and to seize upon the lands and property of the church. It was obviously of the highest consequence to England that the Reformation of Britain should be general, since Scotland, while Catholic, was both a troublesome and dangerous neighbour.

LETTERS AND NEGOTIATIONS

OF

SIR RALPH SADLER, &c.

*Instructions given by the King's Highness to his trusty and well beloved
Servant RALPH SADLER, one of the Gentlemen of his Grace's Privy-
Chamber, whom his Majesty sendeth at this Time into SCOTLAND, for
the Purposes ensuing.*

HENRY REX.

FIRST, his majesty's pleasure is, That the said Ralph Sadler, taking with him all such letters, instructions, and writings, as be prepared for his dispatch, shall, with convenient diligence, address himself to the king of Scots, wheresoever the same shall chance to be within his realm or dominions of Scotland; and, at his access to the presence of the same, he shall deliver unto him the king's majesty's letters of credence, with his most hearty commendations: and for his credence he shall say, That the king's majesty perceiving, as well by his sundry letters lately sent unto his highness, as by the reports and advertisements of his grace's deputy-wardens and officers upon his borders foreancient Scotland, that the said king of Scots is very well disposed towards jus-

tice, and earnestly bent to the conservation of the amity betwixt them, hath thought convenient to signify unto him, that as his highness doth not a little rejoyce thereat, both in respect of the good sequels which must needs follow of the same, and also for that nature cannot but be glad to see such a personage, so nearly in blood conjoynd unto him, bend himself to that good and virtuous trade, which, in fine, shall redound to his great honour: so his majesty hath sent the said Ralph Sadler unto him, not only to express and declare this his highness's most hearty acceptation of these his good proceedings; but also, that his highness is of full mind and purpose, both with his good advice and counsel, and by all other means friendly that he can devise or excogitate, so to advance his said well-doings, and to concur with him in the same, that he shall well perceive that vertue is to be had in prize for herself; and that no friendly and natural behaviour to his majesty shall, or can, on his behalf, be pretermitted or forgotten. And forasmuch as his majesty hath perceived of late, that he delighteth much in English geldings, his grace at this time sendeth unto him for a token — geldings,* which he desireth him to take in good part, heartily praying him friendly and boldly to desire, from time to time, either horses, or any other commodity of this realm, which may be to his pleasure and contentation. And this shall be the sum of that which the said Ralph Sadler shall at his first brunt of his first access utter, saving that when the said king of Scots shall have made his answer, which, by all likelihood, shall be dulce and gentle, he shall in the end of this conference secretly say further unto him, That he hath some other things of importance to be opened secretly unto him-

* This gift, though trifling in value, was chosen with some attention to the taste and habits of the Scottish monarch. James was himself a good horseman, and Lindsay, in his "Complaynt," describes the courtiers as striving to amuse him by their feats of horsemanship upon the sands of Leith. In 1542, Charles Murray was gratified by a grant of the lands of Kingsmuir, in Fife, for his service in procuring great war-horses from abroad; and in the Royal Letters the same subject often occurs.---PINKERTON'S *History*, Vol. II. p. 372. But, in sending *geldings*, Henry rather studied the personal pleasure of his nephew, than his patriotic views of improving the Scottish breed of horses. The number sent was only six.

self, if it shall please him then to hear them, or rather to give unto him a secret audience at some other time for the utterance of the same. And whether he shall then will him to utter his whole credence, or appoint him another time for that purpose, before the said Ralph Sadler shall utter the same, he shall say, that the things be of such nature, and in such wise touch his own honour and surety, that the king's majesty hath commanded him, before he should open the same, to require a promise in honour of him, that it may like him to keep the same secret, and not to disclose them to any person, otherwise nor according to the friendly devise of the same. And if the said King of Scots will not make such promise to him; but shall nevertheless say, that he would not gladly be so bound by his promise, but that he might open his whole mind to his council, requiring therefore, that the opening of things may be left to his arbitry; the said Ralph shall thereunto reply, That some of the secrets of this commission doth percase touch some of the same council: and what an absurdity and inconvenience might ensue by the declaration thereof to the same party, his wisdom can well enough consider. Nevertheless, if all these perswasions notwithstanding, he will still continue in terms for his liberty of the opening of it; the said Ralph shall then desire him, (if he will needs use the matter so,) that it may like him to permit but one or two of his said council to be privy unto it, and that the cardinal be none of them, nor any other which be more affectionate to him than reason would percase require. And being this last point thus at the least obtained, he shall then for the rest of his credence open unto him the other three points ensuing.

The first thing, which the said Ralph Sadler shall declare unto the said king of Scots in this secrecy, (which he shall eftsoons require him to keep very close, unless he shall determine and promise to proceed thereupon to the punishment of them which shall be detected according to his laws,) is, that it fortuneth that a certain subject of his, servitor to the cardinal there, as it was reported, was by tempest driven a-land in the north parts of England, like to be drowned, leaving by chance cer-

tain private letters and copies behind him, which he never repeted; the same were by the king's majesty's officers sent unto him. In the perusing of them, his grace found so strange matter, that he could not otherwise think but that God had sent them into his hands, for the surety and commodity of the said king of Scots. For it appeareth unto the king's majesty, by a letter of the cardinal's own hand, who, in the world, is reputed his chief counsellor, that, under the colour of serving the king, his master and sovereign lord, he laboureth not only to bring into his own hand the whole spiritual jurisdiction of his realm, but, under the colour of it also, the temporal, taking for cloak the bishop of Rome's usurped power, which may serve him for a sword, if he may be so suffered to enjoy the same: so that the just power and authority given to the said king of Scots by God, should thereby, in few years, be little or nothing at all. And, for a plain declaration of his intent therein, he sheweth himself friend and favourer to his majesty's traitors, devising how to compass himself, by a crafty mean, under the colour of the bishop of Rome's usurped power, to be their judge, to the intent he might deliver them: and all for that he would seem to be a good workman for his chief captain the bishop of Rome. And surely, being of that sort, he is only meet for his service, which meaneth only to usurp princes powers, and diminish the same. And as this matter may well shew and declare unto him the crafty and untrue dealing of those prelates; so, by the opening of the same, the said king of Scots may perceive, that the king's majesty doth both love and trust him: for otherwise his majesty knowing to what ruin they labour to bring the state of kings, that they may be rulers of all, and keep them in their own realms as their ministers and deputies, or else by most detestable and impudent boldness vindicate the deposing of them, and making of new at their pleasure, might have silenced this matter, and suffered it to have grown to a greater inconvenience. But his love towards his nephew could not permit it, but rather enforce him to give him this monition, whereby he may prudently *obstare principiis*; and with time, leisure, and good advice, work his own remedy, to his

great honour, and to the great good of his people and countries. And if the said king of Scots do receive this matter thankfully, and shew himself desirous, either now or hereafter, to take advantage of the said cardinal by it; then shall the said Ralph Sadler deliver unto him the very original letter of the said cardinal, which he shall carry with him. If he shall seem not much to pass upon it, when he hath heard it read, the said Ralph shall pretend that he hath no commission to deliver it into his own hands, but only to read it unto him, and instruct him of the purpose thereof, and so to return it again to the king's majesty.

The second thing whereof his highness thought meet to advertise his good nephew, is, that by some it is bruited, that he should gather into his hands numbers of sheep, and such other vile and mean things, in respect of his estate, being the livings of the poor men, therewith to advance his revenue. Of the whilk thing the said Ralph shall say unto him, that the king's majesty hath somewhat advised himself; and considering how, that though the things may be profitable, yet as the kind of profit cannot stand well with the honour of his estate; so it might be a mean in time to cause his subjects to mutter and mutiny, and to conceive that their livings should be by the great personages there taken from them, when they may therein be born by the like precedent and example of their prince and sovereign; whereof might ensue some inconveniences. Wherefore his majesty would wish and desire, that his good nephew, seeing the untruth and beastly living of those monks, and such other of that kind, as occupy a great part of his realm to the maintenance of their voluptie, and the continual decay of his estate and honour, would rather apply himself by good and politick means to increase his revenue, by taking of some such of their houses and possessions in his hands, as might best be spared, and such of the rest as be most notable, to alter. as his majesty hath done here, and convert into better uses, whereby he should well see. that one house so altered should tend more to the honour of God, and to the good order of his realm, than a number of them now doth: and with the same he might

easily establish his estate in such wise as he should be able to live like a king, and yet meddle not with sheep, and those mean things, which be matter whereupon to occupy the meanest of his people. And if he will hereafter, in this point, work any thing to his commodity, giving us knowledge of his mind therein, we shall not only give unto him our best advice and counsel, but also therein to aid and help him, to bring his good determination to a perfect end and conclusion. But, if ever he will do any thing this way, he must keep it very close and secret ; for, if any of his clergy may smell it, they will not fail, either by suggesting him to the wars, or by procuring some other prince or potentate to make war upon him, or by provoking of inward rebellion and treason, or by one false and untrue mean or other, to keep him in business and extreme need, or else utterly to destroy him. And therefore he must in this case (if ever in his life he intend to take any just advantage of that kind) keep it close in his own heart, making very few, and these tried and trusty, of his council, (for eschewing of the danger, which else thereby might come to his person), to be foreseen therewith, lest if they should savour it, he live not (as the king's majesty trusteth he shall) till he have an hoary head.

A third thing that his majesty having upon this his most fervent love and zeal to his nephew the said king of Scots, revolved in his remembrance, is the general state and proceeding of Christendom, which his highness, being an king, hath well observed these thirty years and more, and doth by the same perceive and perfectly see, what difference there is between the honest and politick keeping, using, and living within an man's own limits, with the just consideration of his own quiet and commodity, and the following and satisfying of other mens' fantasies, to their advantages and his damage ; of which conclusion the king of Scots is not ignorant, knowing what displeasure happened to his father, making himself an other man's instrument, to annoy his own friend and ally in his absence. Wherefore being this amity between his majesty and the said king of Scots so like to increase and grow, as well by the mutual affection on both parties, as by the proxi-

mity of blood in the same, which can by no mean be taken away in such sort, but nature will have her instinct and operation, where too much ingratitude shall not utterly corrupt the same: His highness having his promise of silence, and the friendly hearing and containing of his friendly advices, cannot but plainly open his heart and stomach unto him, trusting that he will no less thankfully accept his good affection therein, than deeply ponder his said good advices and counsels proceeding from the same, and to descend with him frankly to the utterance of his grace's said affection; his majesty doth wish and desire, and even most heartily require him to weigh and ponder, what prince or potentate in Christendom may stand him in best stead, and at whose hand he may receive greatest comfort, quiet, and benefit. To speak of the emperor, or the French king, which be nearest to us, what can he look for at either, or at both their hands, but fair words and entertainment for a time, as their instrument with his own danger to serve their purposes? Again, what stay can he think to have, or that either of them would or could stand him in, if at either of their contemplations he should bring himself to be in need of friendship and help, by attempting any thing at their desires? Now let him turn over the leaf, and consider, what commodity he may attain by the favour of the king's majesty, if he continue thus loving towards him, and shew himself from time to time desirous further by his deeds to express the same. First, By the continuance of his amity with his highness, he shall be sure to live in rest and quiet, without danger of trouble or business. Again, He can reasonably desire nothing of his majesty to his pleasure, honour, and commodity, but he may easily obtain it. Thirdly, His majesty would have him consider, and put in his mind, that he is his grace's nephew, and thereby must have such place in his highness's estimation, (dealing like a nephew towards him,) as if God should call out of this life my lord the prince's grace, (which his mercy forbid,) and that his highness should leave none other child of the queen that now is, or any other lawful wife which he might have hereafter; his majesty is, by the consent of the whole realm, put

in such trust for the provision of his successor, as he might of any sort or nation, without exception, at his pleasure name and appoint the same, being thereby in his free-will and power, whether he would in that case name any of his two daughters, his said nephew, or any other, that for his quality, activity, and kindness to the realm, should be thought expedient. And though his majesty may and shall, by God's grace, have some better store of issue, yet his highness being now well stricken in years, he would not have his good nephew to forget, what nature might and peradventure would work in that case, being himself of so good a disposition towards him as he is ; and so that his majesty may perceive, on his part, again such evident arguments of sincere love and amity, as ought to be for due correspondence ; shewing such kindness unto his majesty, and also to his people, as should move them to increase and augment their affection towards him, which, by reason of the ancient enmity heretofore, can hardly be pulled out of their stomachs, unless an perfect and open declaration be by him and his shewed now daily from henceforth to the contrary ; which if it be effectually executed, his majesty doubteth not, but verily trusteth, that those old faults shall be neglected and put in oblivion. And this is one point, which only for a perfect declaration of his most intire love and affection, his majesty hath thought meet to open unto himself, to be by him wisely perpended, and thoroughly digested, and not to be opened to any other of his council, till some effect thereof may ensue. To the help and sooner setting forth whereof, his majesty thinketh such a meeting, as in a manner was almost at a point between them, should greatly help and further. And willeth the said king of Scots to think that these things be opened unto him, only for the perfect love and affection which he beareth unto him ; and not because his grace thinketh either the French king, or the emperor, will move him to any such attempt, as should utterly banish him for ever out of the favour of his majesty and the realm, thinking assuredly they will never do it ; but that he may by this both the better take heed to it, if they or any of them should so move him, and also know the

affection of his majesty better than ever he did, and thereupon so deal and make answer unto his majesty as shall be most meet for his own honour, quiet, commodity, and benefit.

In the declaration of which things, the said Ralph Sadler shall most diligently note and observe his countenance, gesture, and fashion, with the very words of his answers as near as he can, and the manner of the speaking of the same; that at his return he may the better express the same to the king's majesty, using in his declaration of those secret things a good temperance, and pithily inculking the king's majesty's affection towards him, with the points of his advice which do touch his honour and profit, as before is declared. And if the said king of Scots shall chance, by any occasion, to speak of the king's majesty's fortifications, the said Ralph Sadler shall recount unto him how the same be not only done in those parts, but much more in sundry other parts of the realm, in such sort as England was never the third part so strong, all things considered, as it is at this present.

And as for those done upon the frontiers foreanents Scotland, they be done not upon any doubt of his good-will, albeit that both in Flanders, France, and elsewhere, it hath been bruited, that, look what the French king or emperor did against us, he would do the same; yet his majesty rather believed a bruit made upon the borders, which was, that his good-brother should say, that neither for the French king nor emperor would he break his amity with the king's majesty his uncle; but rather considering he is an mortal man, and at God's will and disposition, as well as he that is much elder, and that yet God had sent him no issue which might corroborate the amity; his majesty minding to provide in all events, could not leave that part unlooked on; and if it should so please God, that (as it is aforesaid) he or his posterity should hereafter, by their kind and natural doings, enjoy by our means, for want of issue, (of the preservation whereof we doubt not but he would be most glad,) the crown of this realm, percase he should have cause to pray for his parent that had done so much for him, which his majesty doubteth not but his wisdom will consider accordingly.

Finally, The said Ralph shall desire the said king of Scots, that he may, on the king's majesty's behalf, salute the queen his wife, to whom at his access he shall do his majesty's most hearty commendations; declaring his commission to visit her, and to congratulate the good, virtuous, and honourable life, which his majesty heareth to be between her and his good nephew her husband; of the continuance whereof his grace shall be most glad and joyful, as the proximity of blood between his majesty and the king her husband, with the perfect amity between the same, shall require. And in like manner the said Ralph Sadler shall visit the old queen, the king's majesty's sister, and make to her his highness's most hearty and effectual recommendations; and shall say to her, his majesty is most desirous to hear of her good health and prosperity, having given unto him a special charge, to bring him perfect advertisement of the same; and shall shew her how that it is also a part of his charge to learn and know how she is used, and how all things go there, which he shall also endeavour himself to learn and know by all other means and ways to him possible, that he may thereof the more certainly advertise the king's majesty; and being these things thus declared, and full answers had to the same, the said Ralph shall take his leave of the king and both queens, and return to his majesty accordingly.

And where one Dr Hilliard, * late chaplain to the bishop of Durham, hath traiterously withdrawn himself, and fled out of this realm into Scotland, and (as it is said) is abiding with the said Scottish cardinal; the said Ralph Sadler, after he has declared the premisses, and perceived therein the king of Scots inclination, shall take his opportunity to declare unto him, how the said Hilliard is the king's majesty's fugitive and rebel, and how he hath laboured to sow in this realm much sedition: Wherefore he shall, on his majesty's behalf, require him to cause him be delivered, according to the treaty, into his hands, that he may bring him home with him: And if he can by any means obtain

* A Roman Catholic divine, who had actively opposed the Reformation.

him, he shall bring him with him, having special watch for the sure conveyance of him; and specially noting in his return, who shall be desirous to talk with him. And if he cannot obtain him, nevertheless he shall with good words solicit, that he may be delivered to one of the deputy-wardens, as the amity between the king's majesty and the said king of Scots doth require.

[Here follow the intercepted letters of Cardinal Bethune.]

A LETTER from Cardinal BETHUNE to Mr ANDREW OLIPHANT, Vicar of Foulis and Innertig, his agent at Rome, 16th November, 1539.

Well-beloved clerk, we greet you well. We wrote to you at length *penultimo et ultimo Octobris præteriti*, and also in *primo hujus mensis instantis Novembris*, our mind and direction in every behalf: And sensyne came home Thomas Hutcheson, cousin to Sir John Duncan, and brought to us a brief from the pope's holiness, and also an writing from the cardinal of Ghinciis, both to one effect, to help and maintain him to the restitution of the possession of the vicarage of Dummany, of the whilk he alledged him spoiled; and to the same effect brought an brief to the king's grace, and brought with him sundry other writings and directions from the said Duncan, to be used and execute within this realm; and the king's grace hearing hereof, that the said Hutcheson had come from Duncan, who is rebel to the king's grace, and had assisted to him, was so commoved, that his grace caused to put the said Hutcheson in the castle of Edinburgh, where he is presently, and Alexander Harvy with him as participant of the same crime; and therefore, if Duncan would make any wrong report or relation hereof to the pope's holiness, or to the said cardinal of Ghinciis, ye shall shew both to the pope's holiness and the said cardinal, and all others, as the time requires, not to give credence to the said Duncan in this behalf, and shew the great enormities and attemptates he has done and com-

mitted against the king's grace, his priviledges, and lieges, thir many years bygone, and yet ceases not from the same, through the whilk he is denounced rebel and traitour to the king's grace; and because thir men, Hutcheson and Harvy, are participant with him in his said attemptates, they are holden as said is. And therefore, that ye sollicit that nothing be granted at Duncan's inopportune sollicitation, that may any ways irritate the king's majesty in contrare the liberty of the holy kirk, considering the time is perillous, and regard must be had wisely thereto, and that ye fail not, but that ye be vigilant, and diligent hereanent, and advertise us again what bees done in thir behalfs. And ye shall in likewise shew, that we are labouring at our power to have them freed and put to liberty, *pro conservatione libertatis Ecclesiasticæ*, and to be delivered to us as judge ordinary; and if any men will accuse them, to be accused before us; and we believe within short time, to have them freed in this sort, for the conservation of the liberty of holy kirk; and shew this writing to Mr James Salmond, that he may concur with you in thir premisses. Attour, Ye shall incontinent get us an brief, that we, as primate of the realm, may bear our cross before us, *per totum regnum Scotiæ, et in Diocesi et provincia Glascuensi, et aliis locis qualitercunque exemptis, absque tamen præjudicio exceptionum earundem*. And that this be expedite with all diligence, and that this brief be well extended, and committed, *certis iudicibus in partibus, viz. Episcopo et sub-decano Rossensi, ac decano de Restalrig, cum assistentia in eventum*, if any of thir exeemed diocesses or persons would alledge, That we should not bear our cross within them, *cum derogatione exceptionum earundem ad effectum deferendi crucem duntaxat, et non aliàs, et absque exceptionum earundem præjudicio, &c.* And remember all other matters committed to you in our last writings, and be diligent in the same. And God keep you.

DAVID *Cardinalis Sti Andreæ.*

At Kelso, 16th November, 1539.

And since the writing hereof, we have received an great writing of yours, *ex urbe, 20 Octob. in Edinbur. 7 hujus Decembris instantis*; and have considered the same at length in every behalf; and, by the same, understand perfectly your good labour and diligence in every behalf in our matters, conform to the quality of the short time ye have been in court since your arriving there. We have received in like wise our instrument of possession of our title, *sub Stephano in Calio monte*: And in like wise have received our bull of provision thereto, sent to us lately by Mr James Salmond; and have received all other letters and missives ye make mention of in your said letters. As to the matter of legation, we desire, and that the king's grace desires to be granted to us; we understand perfectly your diligence with the pope's holiness, and the cardinal of Ghinciis, in that behalf; and how some of our own countrymen have done, and do that they may, by their private informations and persuasions, for their own particular weal, and money that they get in thir parts by particular commissions, *in conductionibus et locationibus in emphyteosin*; and not having any regard to the common weal of the king's grace, his realm, and subjects, to stop and make impediments that the said legation be not granted to us. And therefore, in this matter touching the said legation, ye shall have yourself secret from all Scotsmen, and labour thereintil by yourself and others, our friends, viz. by the cardinal of Ghinciis, to whom the king's grace and we write presently in that behalf, of the whilk ye shall receive the copy *cum præsentiis*. And also have written to Monsieur Lymoges Langtak, ambassador there presently for the king of France; and in like wise to *Latinus de Juvenalibus*, our good friends, to do for the king's grace effectuous desire in this matter, to have the said legation granted to us. And we assure you, the king's grace has this matter right high in head and mind, for the common weal of this realm and subjects; and thinks, considering the great parts he keeps to the siege apostolick, and obedience thereof, and maintenance of the faith catholick in this his realm, now in this most perillous time, that his grace should not be denied of his just and reasonable desires, whilks tend all utterly

to the auctorization of the holy siege apostolick, and obedience of the pope's holiness, as head of the kirk catholic. And hereafter, with the first ships, his grace will write of new to the pope's holiness hereupon, that it may be understand perfectly that this legation is desired by his grace specially, and not principally by us. Therefore, do diligence hereintil, as we doubt not but ye will, as ye have begun, and write resolutely to us hereupon in your first writings. *Item*, As we wrote of before to you, fail not but ye get perfect knowledge what this our title, *sub Stephano*, will be in *redditibus* to us and our use, *conventu et loco sustentatis*, and advertise us thereof *cum primis*. As to the exemption of Glasgow, we have received from Mr James Salmond the copy of the supplication thereof; and therefore speed the bulls thereupon, conform to the supplication and mandate we and the archbishop of Glasgow consented to, to the whilk ye were one of the notars; and see that the said exemption be conform thereto, and send the same to us *cum primis*, together with the bull *super præinserta et nova reformatione penes collegium nostrum*, whilk ye write ye shall make sikker and knit fast. And so we pray you fail not to do the same, and stand aw of no man to your devoir in that behalf; for it is our determined mind to put the said erection to profit, and receive execution, and we are doing fast thereupon in *ædificiis* presently.

Item, Anent the personage of Esse; ye know we have given the same by writing of our indult to our cousin Mr Andrew Bethune, *per obitum Joannis Sanquhar*; and we have understand, by an writing of Mr James Salmond's, that the same was resigned, and put in *tuto ante obitum Joannis Sanquhar, pro quodam magistro Jacobo Sanquhar*. If so be, fail not to have the writ thereof, and see if the same resignation was admitted *ante 2. diem Julii proximè præteriti, quòd eodem 2. Julii obiit dictus Joannes Sanquhar in partibus, et fuit parocho notarius,* &c.* As anent all our peaceable matters, do your diligence thereinto; for ye know the same, and estate thereof, better nor we do; and therefore

* Perhaps it should be *Protonotarius*.

be vigilant thereanent, and advertise us thereof *cum primis*, and thereafter we shall write our determined mind to you thereintil.

Item, We pray you fail not to remember *particulariter* all our other letters sent to you since our arriving in Scotland, and the contents thereof *singulariter et in singulis*, and to speed to us the same, as we have written of before, whilks, with thir presents, all will come to you together, because the winds have been ever contrarious to pass in France since the writing thereof: And, therefore, take good regard and attendance thereto, and do diligence anent the expedition of all our desires contained in the same; and make the best and most honourable persuasions ye can, or may, to the pope's holiness, to induce his holiness to the granting of the said legation. And albeit his holiness would make us legate *juxta dispositionem juris communis, ut patet de officio legati*; that can do little good in this country to the king's subjects, without we have a special faculty, and as ample and better than our predecessors, as Bishop Andrew Forman had, whilk was an good faculty for this realm and the king's subjects and lieges, and did sober skaith to the court of Rome, or none worthy to be spoken of. And, further, ye shall commend us to Doctor Wauchop, whom, we understand by your writings, is our good friend. We write presently to him, to do for us and you as ye please to charge him in our name. Remember all other our writings preceding, and this among the lave: And God keep you.

DAVID, *Cardinalis Sti Andreæ*.

EDINBURGH, 10th December, 1539.

*A LETTER from RALPH SADLER to the King's Majesty of England,
containing the Answer of his Instructions, &c.*

Please it, &c. that I arrived here on Tuesday, the —— day of February; and the next day after, in the morning, the king of Scots sent Rothesay, one of his heraulds, unto me, to congratulate, in the

king's name, my coming from your majesty, and to learn of me the good state of your grace's health ; and also, to declare unto me, that the king willed him to say, that he minded not to use me as a stranger, but as one of his familiars, as he would do all those that appertained to the king's majesty, his good uncle : and whensoever I would come to the court, I should be welcome, and have gentle audience at length. I gave thanks accordingly, and answered, that I would that afternoon repair to the court to see the king, and to salute him from your majesty, if it might stand with his pleasure. " Well," quoth the herauld, " I will go first to the court, and bring you word again by and by, whether it shall be best for you to come thither to-day or not ; for," quoth he, " I doubt if the king shall be at leisure." I required him to do so, which he did accordingly ; and within an hour after he came to me again, and said, " That the king's grace, his sovereign, considered my long journey, and tendred so much my travel in the same, that he thought it convenient for me to repose one day after my arrival, and the next day, afore noon, his grace would send for me to come to his presence." I answered, " That whatsoever was his grace's pleasure in that behalf, I was right well content therewith ; nevertheless, if it had pleased him to have had mine access that day, the travel of my long journey should be no impediment thereof ; but yet I thanked his grace humbly, that it pleased him so much to tender mine ease." " Marry," quoth the herauld, " I assure you ye are right dear unto him, and so be all that come from the king's grace his uncle : and," quoth he, " his grace hath given an express commandment to the provost of this town, to see you furnished in all things meet and convenient for you. Wherefore," quoth he, " call for every thing that ye want, as boldly as ye would do if ye were in England ; for so is the king's pleasure." I answered, " That I was much bound to the king for his gentle remembrance of me ; and that I would not fail to make report of the same to your majesty at my return." So we departed ; and the next day, being Thursday, at nine of the clock before noon,

Sir William Ogilvy,* Captain Borthwick, who is lieutenant of the French king's guard, David Lindesay, chief herauld to the king of Scots,† and Rothesay, came to my lodging; and, assoon as I heard of them, I sent to require them to take the pain to come to me, which they did. And, after salutations and friendly embracings, Sir Walter Ogilvy said, "That the king's grace, his sovereign, had sent him and Captain Borthwick to accompany me to the court to the king's presence; to whom," he said, "I should be right heartily welcome." I thanked humbly the king's grace, and them also of their pains taking, declaring, that I was ready to give mine attendance upon his grace's leisure. They answered, "That the time was convenient, and that they were purposely come for me." Whereupon we went forthwith all together to the court; and, when we arrived there, they brought me into the chappel, where the king was at mass, and the chappel full as well of noblemen and gentlemen, as bishops, monks, priests, and other. The king kneeled under a cloath of estate without any travel; and about him kneeled the cardinal, divers bishops, and some noblemen. At mine entry into the chappel, place was made for me through the press, and so was I convoyed up, and placed in a pire,‡ or seat, even behind the king as he kneeled at mass. When the mass was done, the king arose, and turned him towards me; and, so soon as he saw me, he came from under his cloath of estate, and full gently embraced me, and welcomed me. I said, that your majesty commanded me to make your grace's most hearty commendations, and therewith presented unto him your majesty's letters. "Now, I pray you," quoth

* He is afterwards more correctly named Sir Walter. He was the third baron of the family of Boyne. Captain Borthwick was perhaps Borthwick of Nenthorn, brother to the Lord Borthwick.

† The celebrated Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, who, according to the conjecture of his biographer, Mr Chalmers, was appointed to that office about April 1531. He is well known as a poet and satirist; and, from his bias to the tenets of the reformers, was probably peculiarly acceptable to Sadler.

‡ I cannot assign any derivation to this uncommon word. Ducange interprets *Piretum* to be a cell containing a fire-place.

he, "how doth his good grace?" I answered, "That your grace (thank-ed be God) was healthful and merry." "By my truth," quoth he, "I am right heartily glad thereof;" and so he began to open your grace's letters, and read them himself; which, when he had read, he said to me, "The king's grace, mine uncle, refers all to you; and when ye will ye shall have audience at all times." I answered, "That I would willingly attend his grace's best leisure; nevertheless, I thought it convenient to proceed with him to the congratulation of his towardness in the execution of justice upon the Borders, according to the first part of my instructions, the time and place serving so well as it did, and so began in this wise: "Sir," quoth I, "the king's majesty, my sovereign lord, your grace's uncle, hath perceived of late your good inclination to justice, and the good mind and zeal that your grace hath to the conservation and continuance of the amity between both realms of England and Scotland: and considering what good success and sequel must needs follow of the same, hath commanded me to say unto your grace on his behalf, that as his highness doth greatly rejoice to see so noble a prince, so near of his blood, bend yourself to so good and virtuous a trade, which, in fine, shall redound greatly to your honour; so his majesty hath sent me to your grace, not only to express unto you his most thankful acceptance of the same, but also to assure your grace, that, for his part, he will so concur and join with you in all things that may tend to the weal of peace, and the conservation of the amity and present unity betwixt his majesty and you, your realms and subjects, in such sort as your grace shall well perceive that he mindeth the same no less than your grace doth; and whatsoever kindness, or natural behaviour, shall be used towards his majesty on your part, ye may be assured, that the same shall not, on his majesty's behalf, be pretermitted nor forgotten. "Now, by my truth," quoth he, "and whatsoever I can do in the world, as a prince may do with his honour, to please his grace, and for the keeping of the peace and amity between us, I shall ay be sure to do it to the uttermost of my power; and, for no man alive shall I do that thing that may tend to

the break of my word and promise made to his grace ; but, whilst I live, I will surely bide by the same ; and," quoth he, " I trust his grace will do the like." " Sir," quoth I, " your grace knoweth, that the king's majesty, your uncle, is a prince of honour, and hath great experience of the world, and hath entred in many covenants with sundry great princes ; and yet, I am sure, your grace never heard that ever he gave occasion of break of covenant or treaty with any prince, and so, your grace may be assured, he will not begin at you." " No, on my soul," quoth he, " I never doubted it ; and whilst I live I shall not fail to him ; and whatsoever pleasure I can do for his grace, no man alive shall be glader nor I to do it, and thereof his grace may be sure." Which words, I assure your majesty, he expressed in such loving and hearty manner, as to me appeared he thought no less in his heart than he spake with his mouth.

Furthermore, I told him, that for as mikle as your grace had perceived that he had some pleasure and delight in English geldings, your majesty did therefore send him for a token six horses and geldings, which your grace prayed him to take in good part, and friendly and boldly to require either horses or any other commodity of your majesty's realm, that might be to his pleasure and contentation. Whereunto he answered full gently, " That he did most heartily thank your grace ; and that if there were any thing within his realm that might do your grace pleasure, your grace should command it as ye might do within your own realm." At that time your grace's horses were not arriyed ; and so I told the king that they came leisurely after me, and that I looked for them within a day or two at the farthest ; " and," quoth I to him, " when they shall arrive here, upon knowledge of your pleasure, I shall bring them to your presence." " Well," quoth he, " when you please ye shall be heartily welcome to me at all times." " Sir," quoth I, " I have other matters of importance to be declared secretly to yourself, but the time and place serveth not now thereto ; wherefore, if it might please your grace to appoint me a more secret audience, I shall most gladly therein attend your best leisure." " Mar-

ry," quoth he, "if it please you to-morrow afore noon I will send for "you;" and so made me a countenance, and committed me to those that were appointed to keep me company, and so went to his chamber, as they said, to dine. "Then," quoth Captain Borthwick to me, "if ye will tarry here in the chappel any season, ye shall see the queen come to mass." "By my truth," quoth I, "and I have in charge to make the king's majesty my master's hearty commendations to both the queens here, but I have forgotten to ask licence of the king to visit and see them; and therefore I will not tarry now, but shall take another time for the same." "Marry," quoth Captain Borthwick, "I will go tell the king that ye desire that licence, and come to you again immediately with his grace's pleasure therein." And so he went, and came again without long tarrying, and said, "That the queen was something crased, and came not abroad; and that the king thought it best that I should the next day, or at any other time when I would, visit and see both the queens." Whereupon I departed from the court towards my lodging, accompanied with the said Sir Walter Ogilvy, Captain Borthwick, Lindesay, and Rothesay, who brought me to my lodging, being in the town, and dined there with me.

The next day, being Friday, between nine and ten afore noon, they came all to me again, and said, "that the king had sent them for me to come to his grace." According whereto I addressed myself with them to the court, and there they brought me again to the chappel, where the queen, the king's wife, was hearing a sermon in French, accompanied with a number of ladies and gentlewomen. The king was not there; but, as I perceived, I was brought there of purpose to see the queen, and to salute her from your grace. I was placed in the same seat that I had the day before; and when the sermon was done, Captain Borthwick told me, "That the king's pleasure was I should speak with the queen." And therewith the chief herauld, Lindesay, went to the queen, and spoke to her what I know not, and then came to me, and said, "That the king had appointed me then to salute the queen, according to my request the day before." Whereupon I repaired to

her, and said, "That your majesty had given me in charge to make unto her your grace's most hearty commendations, and to congratulate the good, virtuous, and honourable life between her and her husband; of the continuance whereof your grace would be most joyful and glad, as the proximity of blood between your grace and your nephew her husband, with the perfect amity between the same, did require." She answered, "That she was much bound to your good grace, that it pleased your majesty to remember her with your grace's recommendations, and that she did right humbly thank your grace therefore; and what she could do to the interest of the amity betwixt the king her husband and your majesty, she would not fail to set forth the same from time to time with all power." I said, "The amity was so perfect and assured betwixt your majesty and the king her husband, that, with the grace of God, it should remain for ever untouched, and such furtherers thereof as she was, might do great good therein on both parties." She prayed me to make her right humble commendations to your grace again, with assurance, that her good-will to the continuance of the amity should not fail by God's grace: and so she dismissed me. And immediately after came Rothesay to me, saying, "That the king had sent for me;" and so I was forthwith brought to the king's presence in his privy-chamber, where his grace took me apart in a window, shewing to me right pleasant countenance and cheer, making semblance that he was willing to hear whatsoever I had to say. Whereupon I began to make a brief repetition of that I had spoke to his grace the day before, as well touching his just proceedings on the Borders, (whereto, in effect, he answered as before;) as also touching your horses, which even then were arrived in Scotland. I told his grace, they would be that night at Leith, within a mile of Edinburgh; and if it pleased him to appoint the time when he would see them, I would cause them to be brought to his presence. He remitted that to my discretion. I said, "that they had an long journey, and therefore if it might stand with his pleasure to respite the sight of them for two or three days, that they might have some rest after their tra-

vel, I doubted not but his grace would like them well, when he should see them." He was well content therewith, and said, "He was most beholden to your grace of all men alive, and such pleasure as he could do your grace, he was bound to do it." I told him, "That using himself to your majesty, like a loving and kind nephew, he needed not to want any thing wherein your grace might stand him instead." "And by my truth," quoth he, "shall I never do him that fault, whereby he shall justly have occasion to waite me of unkindness whilst I live." "Well," quoth I, "I have some matters to be declared to yourself, which be of importance, and they do so nearly touch your own honour and surety, that the king's majesty, your uncle, hath commanded me, afore I should open the same to your grace, to require a promise of your honour, that it may like you to keep the same secret, and not to disclose them to any person, otherwise nor according to the friendly device of the same." "Whatsoever," quoth he, "ye shall tell me on the king mine uncle's part, which his grace will have secret, if ever he hear that it pass my mouth again, let me have the blame; for," quoth he, "I thank God I am not so liberal of my tongue, but I can keep silence as is meet." "Sir," quoth I, "the things touch chiefly your own honour and surety, and therefore it shall behove your grace to look well to it; and if it may please your grace to make me that promise on your honour, not to disclose them, but in such wise as the king's majesty your uncle doth friendly advise you, I shall open the same unto you." "Yea, by my truth," quoth he, "I make you that promise with right good will; and I shall warrand you, ye shall hear no more thereof, for shall I never be found foul of my word or promise to no man while God giveth me grace, which, I trust, shall never fail me."

"The first thing," quoth I, "that I have to declare unto your grace, my sovereign lord and master the king's majesty, your uncle, requireth you to keep it secret, unless ye shall determine and promise to proceed thereupon, to the punishment of those persons which shall be detected, according to your laws; and if your grace shall so determine, when

ye have heard the matter, then the king's majesty, your uncle, is content to leave the opening thereof to your arbitry; but otherwise his majesty would be loath to seem author of any such thing, if your grace should not weigh it and take it in heart, as he doth; for be ye assured," quoth I, "whatsoever toucheth your grace, or your honour, his majesty weigheth it as his own." Here he seemed to be very desirous to know the matter, and said, "I pray you, what is it? for I assure you whatsoever he be that doth offend us, or our laws, he shall well know that we stand not in awe to see him punished." "Sir," quoth I, "this is the matter: It fortun'd late that a subject of yours being servant, as is reported, to your cardinal here, was, by the rage and tempest of the sea, driven a-land in the north parts of England, very like to have been drowned." "Yea," quoth he, "that was Brunstoun, he is now newly come home." "Yes, sir," quoth I, "the king's majesty, my master, had advertised you of the matter afore this time; but he respited the same until the return of the man, because your grace should both be sure of the parties, and be advertised of the matter all at once. This Brunstoun," quoth I, "when he was thus on land, by chance left certain private letters and copies behind him." "No," quoth he, "the letters were taken from him, by the king mine uncle's officers." "Indeed, sir," quoth I, "the letters were found by the king my master's officers, and sent up to his majesty." "Well," quoth he, "it is no force."* Now, and it please your highness, as I past by Bamburgh, I met with John Horseley, captain of the same, who in communication told me, that he had taken a packet of letters from certain Scottish men, which were driven a-land there by tempest, and named the said Brunstoun to be one of them; and therefore knowing the same by that mean, when the king of Scots told me that the said letters were taken away from the said Brunstoun, I would not wide too far in the defence thereof, but thought to pass it over, and proceed

* *i. e.* "It is no matter."

to the matter as I did, and so said unto his grace, that when the letters came unto your majesty's hands, and that your grace had perused them, there appeared such strange matter in them, that your majesty could no otherwise think, but that God had sent them to your hands for the surety and commodity of his grace; "for," quoth I, "it appeared unto the king's majesty, your uncle, by a letter subscribed with your cardinal's own hand here, that under colour to serve your grace, being his sovereign lord, he laboureth to bring into his own hands, not only the whole spiritual jurisdiction of your realm, but under colour of it also the temporal, taking for cloak the bishop of Rome's usurped power, which may serve him for a sword, if he be suffered to enjoy the same; so that the just power and authority given you by God, as to a king, should thereby in few years be little or nothing at all. And, sir, for a plain declaration of his intent herein, he sheweth himself to be a friend and fautor of your grace's traitours, devising how to compass himself by a crafty mean, under the colour of the bishop of Rome's power, to be their judge, to the intent he might deliver them." "Which traitours, I pray you," quoth he? "Marry, sir," quoth I, "as I conceive by the cardinal's said letters, your grace committed to ward one Hutheson, and one Harvy, for their treasons and offences committed against your grace, and to these your cardinal seemeth to be a great friend; and as it shall evidently appear to your grace by his letter, he deviseth to make himself their judge, to the intent he would deliver them, and all for that he would seem to be a good work-man for his chief captain the bishop of Rome, for whose service he is only meet; which meaneth nothing else, than to usurp princes powers, and to diminish the same. And," quoth I, "as this matter may declare unto you the crafty dealing of those prelates; so by the opening thereof, your grace may well perceive that the king's majesty, your uncle, doth both love and trust you, and wisheth to God that your grace knew so well as he doth, to what ruin those prelates do labour to bring the state of kings, that they may

be rulers of all, and keep princes in their own realms as their ministers and deputies, or else by most detestable and impudent boldness vindicate the deposing of them, and making of new at their pleasure." In the declaration hereof, I observed well his countenance, and perceived that he gave me an attentive ear; and somewhile looked very steadily on me, and with grave countenance; somewhile he bit the lip, and bowed his head; and when I had said, and awaited what he would say, he answered those words; "By my truth," quoth he, "there are two laws, the spiritual law, and the temporal: The cure of the one pertaineth to the pope's holiness and the spirituality; the other to kings, princes, and the temporality; and, for my part, I trust I shall do my duty to God in the discharge of such things as pertain to the temporal power, within my office and rule within this realm. But as for the spiritual law, in good faith we take no regard thereof, but commit that to the pope's holiness, and other ordinary ministers of the kirk within our realm." "Sir," quoth I, "it may please your grace to consider, that God hath called you to be a king, and hath not only committed unto your charge to see his laws executed within your office and realm, as supreme head thereof; but also hath put the sword into your hands, for the punishment and reformation of the transgressours of the same. And thinks your grace, that if the ministers of the spiritual laws within your realm, for that they know your grace taketh no regard thereof, shall not do their duty, so that your people in their default shall perish for lack of justice, and run headlong in blindness and ignorance of God's word, for lack of doctrine and due preaching of the same by your prelates and clergy of your realm; think you," quoth I, "that in that case, if your grace do not your kingly office to redress the same, and appoint every man to serve in his vocation, that ye shall not yield a just reckoning thereof unto God?" "Marry," quoth he, "I trust God shall give me grace to do my duty to him; and whatsoever he be in Scotland, that we may know doth not his duty, both in the execution of God's laws above all, and also in the ministration of indifferent

justice to our lieges ; by God," quoth he, " if we may know him, we shall not lett to punish him, be he spiritual or temporal, in such ways as appertains ; and that (ye shall trow me,) they know all full well. But by my truth," quoth he, " I thank God, Scotland was never in better love and obedience to no king of the same, than they are unto me ; and I dare say, that there is no man in Scotland, high nor low, but will do willingly and gladly, whatsoever is my will and commandment. For," quoth he, " they do both love and dread me. And for this matter, which the king, mine uncle, hath advertised me of touching this cardinal, ye shall well know, that if he hath, or shall in any ways offend our laws, we shall not stand awe of any man to punish him as he merits. But," quoth he, " I know not, but that he wrote to Rome to his agent there, for the procuring of a legation ; which, in good faith, should be a benefit to our subjects, and we also did write to the pope's holiness in the same." " Sir," quoth I, " the king's majesty, my master, hath sent with me the original letter of the said cardinal, to the intent I should read the same to your grace, whereby ye shall perceive all his crafty pretence. And," quoth I, " if your grace will see the letter, I have it here ready, and will myself read it unto you." " No," quoth he, " keep the letter still, we will take another time for it ;" and that he spake to me very softly, which I think he did, because the cardinal was present in the chamber. And again he said, " Let this matter pass at this time, we shall talk more of it at our next meeting."

Then thought I it best to enter with him in another matter, being the second part of my instructions ; and according thereto I told his grace, That like as your majesty could hear of nothing that should touch his honour, esteeming the same as your own, so your grace could not contain such things as your majesty had heard bruited of him, wherein very love and affection forced your highness friendly to counsel and advise. " By my truth," quoth he, " it is great pleasure and quiet to me, to understand that his grace bears me so good mind ;

and whatsoever his grace says to me, I am sure he speaks it for my good, and I shall follow his advice in all things that may be to God's honour, and the increase of the love and peace betwixt him and me; and I am sure," quoth he, "his grace will advise me to nothing that shall be against mine honour." "No, sir," quoth I, "ye may be assured his majesty will advise you nothing but that, that shall stand greatly with your honour, and also with your profit. His majesty," quoth I, "hath heard it bruited, that ye should gather into your hands numbers of sheep, and such other mean things in respect of your estate, therewith to increase your estate and revenue. And," quoth I, "his grace having advised himself thereof, commanded me to tell you, that though the things may be somewhat profitable, yet as that kind of profit cannot stand with the honour of a king's estate, nor yet so profitable as may any ways extend towards the maintenance of a king's estate; so the king's majesty, your uncle," quoth I, "doubteth lest it may give occasion to your people to mutter and mutiny, fearing lest their living should be taken from them by your nobility and gentlemen of your realm, when they may be born by your precedent and example, and so percase might grow farther inconveniencies. Wherefore," quoth I, "the king's majesty, your uncle, wisheth that ye would rather apply yourself by good and politic means to increase your revenue, by taking of some of those religious houses (such as may be best spared) into your hands, which do occupy and possess a great part of the possessions of your realm, to the maintenance of their volupty and idle life, and the continual decay of your estate; and the rest of them, which be most notable, to alter into colleges or cathedral churches, and alms-houses, as the king's majesty, your uncle, hath done; whereby ye shall well perceive, that one house so altered shall tend more to the glory of God, than a number of them now doth; and yet shall ye establish your revenue thereby, in such sort, as ye shall be able to live like a king, and yet not meddle with sheep, nor such mean things, being matter whereupon to occupy the

meanest of your people and subjects.”* “In good faith,” quoth he, “I have no sheep, nor occupy no such things. But,” quoth he, “such as have tacks and farms of me, peradventure have such numbers of sheep and cattle, as ye speak of, going upon my lands, which I have no regard to. But for my part,” quoth he, “by my truth I never knew what I had of mine own, nor yet do. I thank God,” quoth he, I am able to live well enough of that which I have, and I have friends that will not see me mister. There is a good old man in France, my good-father the king of France (I must needs call him so,” quoth he, “for I am sure he is like a father to me,) that will not see me want any thing, that lies in him to help me with. Nevertheless,” quoth he, “I shall seek nothing of any man but love and friendship; and for my part I shall hold my word and behecht† with all princes, and for no man living shall I stain mine honour for any worldly good, with the grace of Jesu. And most heartily I thank the king’s grace, mine uncle, for his advice; but in good faith I cannot do so; for methinks it against reason and God’s law to put down thir ‡ abbeyes and religious houses, which have,” quoth he, “stand thir many years, and God’s service maintained and kept in the same. And,” quoth he, “what need I to take them to increase my livelyhood, when I may have any thing that I can require of them? I am sure,” quoth he, “there is not an abbey in Scotland at this hour, but if we mister any thing, we may have of them whatsoever we will desire that they have; and so what needs us to spoil them?” “Sir,” quoth I, “they are a kind of unprofitable people, that live idly upon the sweat and labours of the poor, and their first foundations founded upon popery and man’s constitutions; and yet doth none of them observe the ground and rules of their profes-

* This coarse and impolitic censure of the king’s œconomy, seems to have induced him to deny the use to which he very wisely put his crown lands in Etricke Forest, where, according to Pitscottie, he had ten thousand sheep going as securely, and as well accounted for, by Andrew Bell, the king’s shepherd, as if they had been in the bounds of the more civilized province of Fife. P. 237. folio edit.

† That which I have *behecht*, or promised.

‡ These.

sions ; for in their first entries to religion, they profess chastity, wilful poverty, and obedience. And," quoth I, " if it please your grace, as to the first, that is, chastity ; I dare be bold to say, that unless your monks be more holy in Scotland than ours are in England, there reigneth nowhere more carnality, incontinency, buggery, sodomy, with leachery, and other abominations, than is used in cloysters among monks, chanons, nuns, and friers, which could never appear, so long as the king's majesty, your uncle, committed his trust to the bishops and clergy of his realm, for their visitations, as your grace now doth ; for those visiters always cloaked their vices and abuses, because they would not have their own to appear ; but when his majesty began more diligently to look to his cure and kingly office, as well in those spiritual affairs, as he did before in the temporal, then tried he out all their abominations and abuses, and so, conform to God's laws, hath eradicated and weed them out of his realm ; and most of them which were notable houses, his majesty hath committed to better and more godly uses. Now, Sir," quoth I, " to the second part of their profession, which is wilful poverty : I am sure," quoth I, " your grace will bear me record, that they might be called rather wilfully rich, than wilfully poor ; for every of them is provided of a rich and quiet life ; they labour not for their living, but are rather fed by the labours of the poor. And as for obedience, I think surely they are obedient in heart to their chief captain, the bishop of Rome ; but I trow they be not without bulls under lead, whereby they will claim to be excemmed from your obedience ; so that I cannot see that they do in any point observe any part of their professions." " Oh," quoth the king, " God forbid that if a few be not good, for them all the rest should be destroyed. Though some be not," quoth he, " there be a great many good ; and the good may be suffered, and the evil must be reformed ; as ye shall hear," quoth he, " that I shall help to see it redressed in Scotland, by God's grace, if I brook life." " Sir," quoth I, " ye must do as Christ saith, *Omnis plantatio, quam non plantavit pater meus cælestis, eradicabitur*. And so," quoth I, " by my truth, ye must

weed them up by the root, as the king's grace, your uncle, hath done, or else ye shall never redress them." "No," quoth he, "I am sure mine uncle will not desire me to do otherwise nor my conscience serveth me." "No, Sir," quoth I, "the king's majesty, your uncle, doth advise you of those things, both for your honour and profit, and proceeding of an entire zeal, love, and affection, that his grace beareth towards you: And now, since your grace hath heard the same, ye may work therein as shall stand with your pleasure." "Yea," quoth he, "I trust the king, mine uncle, will not be discontented with me, though I do therein according to my conscience; for, by my soul," quoth he, "I will do nothing by my will that will displease him; and whatsoever tales or leasings have been told his grace, or shall be hereafter of me, his grace shall find me ay constant of my word and promise made to him."

Here I thought to take occasion to speak of the bruit of the words that should be spoken by him, which was, That, look what the emperor or French king would do against your grace, he would do the same. And so I said unto him, "Sir, because your grace speaketh of tales and leasings, I will tell you of a tale or leasing that was bruited both in France and Flanders, and elsewhere of late when the rumour was of the wars." "Wars!" quoth he, "what wars?" "Marry, Sir," quoth I, "I am sure ye know what a rumour and saying there was lately, that the emperor, the French king, and the bishop of Rome, would invade England." "Yea, yea," quoth he, and laughed, "but they were not over hasty: be ye sikker," quoth he, "that they will be well advised thereof. By God," quoth he, "they consider, that they should have over-much to do. I warrand you," quoth he, "they will never seek you." "Marry, Sir," quoth I, "it was said that your grace should say, That, look whatsoever the emperor or French king should do against the king's majesty, your uncle, ye would do the same." "That I should say so!" quoth he. "Yes, Sir," quoth I, "such a bruit there was both in France and Flanders, and elsewhere." "Now," quoth he, "I pray God I never have part of the bliss of heaven, if I

ever spake any such word, or such like to that effect." "By my faith, Sir," quoth I, "the king's majesty, your uncle, believed them not." "Now, as I shall answer to God," quoth he, "I never spake it, nor thought it." "Marry, Sir," quoth I, "his majesty believed rather another bruit made on the Borders, which was, that ye should say, That for emperor or French king, ye would not break with the king, your uncle." "By God," quoth he, "whether I said so or not, he shall ay find so. No, no," quoth he, "I shall attend mine own matters; I have not to do with others; let others do what they list, but I shall never stain mine honour, nor break my promise. For," quoth he, "I am no bairn, neither emperor nor French king can draw me to do what they list. And as for my good-father,* the French king, good prince, I dare say for him, that he never thought any evil to the king, mine uncle, nor intended not to break with him. Marry," quoth he, "what the emperor intended I cannot tell; but, for the king of France, methinks I durst swear for him; for, by my truth, I never perceived in him, but that he did always bear his heart and good love to the king, mine uncle."

"Well, Sir," quoth I, "your grace knoweth, that the king's majesty, your uncle, is a prince of great experience, and being a king these thirty years and more, hath observed the state and general proceedings of Christendom; whereby," quoth I, "his grace hath well perceived how much better it is for a prince to live within his own proper limits, with a just consideration of his own quiet and commodity." Even there suddenly he interrupted me, and said, "By God," quoth he, "even so will I do; I will live on my own, and attend mine own, and by my will shall offend no man, but hold my word and behecht with all princes, and study with all my good heart to live in unity and concord with all the world, and specially with my good uncle." "Sir," quoth I, "ye are in an good mind; and (as I was about to tell your grace) the king's majesty, your uncle, perceiveth, by long experience,

* Father-in-law.

the difference betwixt the honest and politic living within a man's own proper limits, with a just consideration of his own quiet and commodity, and the satisfying and following of other men's fantasies to their advantage, and the danger of his damage. Of the which conclusion," quoth I, " your grace cannot be ignorant, knowing what chance happened to the king, your father, by making of himself another man's instrument to annoy his friend and allya in his absence. But," quoth I, " this amity being now so like to increase and grow betwixt the king's majesty your uncle and you, as well by the mutual affection of both parties, as by the proximity of blood betwixt you, which cannot be so taken away, but that nature will have her instinct and operation, where too much unkindness shall not corrupt it." Here he interrupted me again, and said, " By my truth," quoth he, " there shall be no such unkindness shewed on my part, with the grace of God." " The king's majesty, your uncle," quoth I, " hath therefore determined to open his heart and stomach unto you ; trusting, that ye will no less thankfully accept his good affection therein, than deeply ponder his good advices and counsels. And," quoth I, " to descend frankly with you to the utterance of the same, his majesty requireth, and heartily prayeth you to weigh and ponder with yourself, what prince or potentate in Christendom may stand you in best stead, and at whose hands ye may receive greatest comfort, commodity, and benefit." " Oh !" quoth he, " join he and I fastly together ; be you sikker, there is no prince in the world that can or will seek to do us any skaith." * " Sir," quoth I, " to speak of the emperor, or French king, that be nearest, what can ye look for at either, or at both their hands, but fair words and entertainment for a time, as their instrument to serve their purposes, to your own danger and damage ? Again," quoth I, " what stay can ye think to have, or look ye that either or both of them could or would stand you in, if, at any of their contemplations, ye should bring yourself to be in case of need of friendship and help, by attempting of any

* Harm.

thing at their desires?" "No, no," quoth he, "I am no bairn; they cannot draw me to do any thing against my word, and the honour of a prince." "Now, then, Sir," quoth I, "consider what commodity ye may attain by the love and favour of the king's majesty, your uncle. First, By the continuance of his amity, ye may be sure to live in rest and quietness, without danger of trouble or business. Again, What can ye reasonably desire of his majesty that may be to your honour and commodity, but ye may easily obtain it? Thirdly, His majesty would have you consider, and print in your mind, that ye are his nephew; and therefore, dealing like a nephew towards him, ye must needs have such place and estimation in his heart, that if God should call his son, my lord prince's grace, out of this life, (which his mercy forbid!) and that his highness should leave no other child of the queen that now is, or any other lawful wife his grace may have hereafter, his majesty is, by consent of the whole realm, put in such trust for provision of his successor, as his grace might, of any sort or nation, without exception, name and appoint the same; being thereby, in his free-will and power, whether he would name any of his two daughters. Yea," quoth I, "or whether his majesty would name your grace, being his nephew; or any other, that, for his qualities, activity, or kindness to the realm, should seem to him expedient. Wherefore," quoth I, "albeit, with the grace of God, his majesty may have some better store of issue than he yet hath; yet his highness being well stricken in years, he would not have you to forget what nature would in that case work, being himself of so good a disposition towards you as he is; and so that he may perceive, on your part again, such evident arguments of sincere love and affection, as may answer and be correspondent; shewing also, on your part, such kindness to his realm and subjects, as ye may the rather by the same attain their good affections, which," quoth I, "by reason of the ancient enmity, can hardly be obtained, unless a perfect and open declaration of love and amity be from henceforth daily shewed and extended to them by you and yours." "Well," quoth he, "I have heard you leisurely, and do perceive mine uncle's

good mind towards me, for which I do most heartily thank his grace. But," quoth he, "I will not use many words with you: ye shall tell his grace on my behalf, as a gentleman may say to his master on the word of a prince, that I shall never fail him for no man alive, nor for no worldly goods in word nor deed, contrary to my covenant and treaty made with his grace; but rather shall I apply myself by all the good means to me possible, to preserve and maintain the love and peace between us. And by my truth," quoth he, "what pleasure or kindness I can or may do to his grace, or any of his realm, I shall be as glad to do it as any man alive." "Sir," quoth I, "it is much to my comfort, that I may be bold to tell the same to the king's majesty my sovereign lord and master of your mouth, as on the word of a prince, which I shall not fail to do. And on the other side," quoth I, "I know the affection of his majesty towards your grace to be such, as dealing like a kind nephew towards him, ye may be sure to have both a father and an uncle of his grace." "By my truth," quoth he, "shall I rather be dead, than be found foul of my word and promise with him while I live." "Well, Sir," quoth I, "all those things the king's majesty, your uncle, for a more perfect declaration of his intire love and affection towards you, hath thought meet to be opened to yourself, to be by you wisely considered and thoroughly digested, and not to be declared to any of your council, till some good effect may ensue of the same." "By my faith," quoth he, "and God will, ye shall never hear that I shall be a babbler of any thing that ye have opened to me from my uncle, which his pleasure is to have kept secret." "And, Sir," quoth I, "the king's majesty, your uncle, willed me to say unto you, that, for the better and sooner attaining to some good effect in those things, such a meeting, as was once almost at a point between you, should greatly avail to the setting forth of all good purposes betwixt you." "Such a meeting," quoth he, "as my Lord William treated of.* I

* Henry, by his ambassador Lord William Howard, had, in 1535, proposed to his nephew of Scotland a friendly conference, or meeting, at York; trusting, doubtless, that his

promise you," quoth he, " my Lord William reported me untruly in that to the king's grace, mine uncle ; for he said, that I did fully agree to that meeting ; as by my truth," quoth he, " for my part, I was content with it ; but I told my Lord William, that the lords of my realm would not agree to it. And," quoth he, " he made an untrue report of it to the king, mine uncle, and brought him in displeasure with me therefore." " Sir," quoth I, " in my poor opinion, whosoever letted that meeting, loved neither the king's majesty your uncle, nor yet your grace, nor the wealth of your realms : And," quoth I, " such a meeting now might redouble all ; and it should be a great comfort both to the king's majesty your uncle and your grace, the one of you to see the other ; and such a good increase of hearty love and affection might grow thereby to your people and subjects on both parts, as should for ever establish a perfect unity and kindness among them." " By my truth," quoth he, " I would be glad to see the king, mine uncle, but I would wish that the French king might be at it, that we three might meet and join together in one." " Sir," quoth I, " I have no commission to speak thereof ; but to say to your grace what I think I am sure the king's majesty, my master, would be right glad thereof : howbeit," quoth I, " to say my opinion, I cannot see how such a meeting could be brought to pass betwixt you all three, being so great princes, without a great, painful, and dangerous journey, to two or one of you at the least. For," quoth I, " either the French king must pass over on this side the sea, or else the king's majesty your uncle and your grace must both pass over on the other side of the sea." " Marry, quoth he, " I should be sure of the longest and most painful journey, which I would not pass upon for so good a purpose." " Well, Sir," quoth I, " to be plain with your grace ; as I think, I would first wish, that this meeting, between the king's ma-

eloquence would induce James to follow, in church affairs, the example which he had given in England. But the Scottish king started difficulties, and evaded the request, as he again does with much polite ingenuity upon the present occasion.

jesty your uncle, and you, might take effect, which might be easily brought to pass, without any danger to either of both your persons ; for," quoth I, " there is no dangerous passage of any sea, or other waters, between you, but such as ye may easily pass over on horseback. And," quoth I, " the king's majesty your uncle and the French king have seen one another at meetings and entreatings afore this time, appointed for that purpose, but he never saw you, nor ye him : And therefore, to say mine own fantasy to your grace, I would that so good a purpose should be no longer delayed betwixt you." Hereat he smiled, and said, " Well, I shall advise somewhat hereupon, and, or ye depart hence, we shall talk further of the same, and make you such answer to all your credence, as, I trust, shall be to the pleasure and contentation of the king, mine uncle."

Thus he seemed content to dismiss me for that time ; which perceiving, I told him, that I had done your majesty's commendations to the queen's grace as part of my charge so to do ; and that if it pleased his grace so to licence me, I would likewise visit the queen's grace, his mother. " Marry," quoth he, " I pray you at your pleasure ; ye needed not to ask my licence for that, but ye may boldly see and visit her at all times." I thanked humbly his grace, and so went straight to the queen, your majesty's sister. And as I was brought to her lodging in the court, to whom I made your grace's hearty commendations, and declared that your highness (thanks be to God,) was healthful and merry, and had given me special charge to visit and see her, and also to know how she was used, and how all things went there. She answered, " That she was glad to hear that your grace was in good health," and also asked me of the state and health of the queen's grace, my mistress ; whereto I answered accordingly. But she took it the most unkindly that might be, that she had no letter from your highness, saying, " That she perceived your grace set not much by her ; But," quoth she, " though I be forgot in England, shall I never forget England. It had been but a small matter," quoth she, " to have spent a little paper and ink upon me, and much it had been to

my comfort ; and were it perceived," quoth she, " that the king's grace, my brother, did regard me, I should be the better regarded of all parties here." I excused all things as well as I could, and satisfied her grace right well or I departed. We had no communication of any great matters worthy the writing to your majesty, saving, that she assured me, that the king, her son, was never better inclined to the peace, and continuance of love and amity, betwixt your majesty and him. She told me also of her own affairs, how she was well treated, and much made of, of the new queen, with such other things of light importance.

The next day after, which was Saturday the — day of February, came to me Rothesay the herald, and said, " That the king would be glad if I thought it meet, that the horses which your majesty had sent him, should be brought to him the morrow after, being Sunday, in the forenoon, betwixt nine and ten, to the intent his lords, which then should be assembled, might see the fair present that your majesty had sent him." I answered, " That they had rested but two days after their long journey, and that it required a time to trim them, as they might be delivered in such sort as appertained." " By God," quoth Rothesay, " the king would fain have them to morrow ; and," quoth he, " his grace would have you to be with him by nine of the clock in the morning, and the horses to come within half an hour after." " Well," quoth I, " I will know whether they be ready, and in case to be brought to the king's presence, to be delivered to morrow to his grace, and then I shall make you answer." So called I to me Christopher Erington, who was appointed to come with your grace's horses, and to see the guiding of them, and asked him whether they were in good case to be delivered or not ? And he told me, " That they were ready to be delivered forthwith, if I would." Whereupon I answered Rothesay, " That, according to the king's pleasure, I would wait on his grace in the morning, and make delivery of your majesty's present accordingly." The same night came Rothesay to me again, and brought me wine from the king, both white and claret, and said,

“That the king was well content to see and receive your grace’s present the next morning ; specially, he said, because the lords should see your majesty did not forget him.” The next morning being Sunday, afore nine of the clock, came Sir Walter Ogilvy, Sir John Campbel, David Lindesay the chief herauld, and Rothesay, to my lodging, to accompany me to the court ; and so I took order that your majesty’s horses were brought thither, within half an hour after me. At my coming to the court, I was brought again to the chapel, where I found the queen again at a sermon. By the time the sermon was done, your majesty’s horses were come ; and I was forthwith brought to the king’s presence, to whom I declared that I had brought to his grace such a present of horses as your majesty had sent to him ; and if it might please him to see them, they were ready in the court. “I thank the king’s grace, mine uncle,” quoth he, “with all mine heart ; come ye on with me, we will go see them.” And so went he into another chamber, where out of a window he looked into a fair court, and thither were the horses brought, which the king liked exceeding well, and praised wondrously. Christopher Erington did ride them one after another afore him, and handled them very well. I did set them well forth both for their kinds and ages. He praised much the Barbary horse, and the Jennet ; “and,” quoth he, “I like them the better, because they be of mine uncle’s own brood : If the Barbary horse,” quoth he, “were bigger, he were worth to much good ; but by my truth,” quoth he, “he is a bonny beast, and so be they all.” “Sir,” quoth I, “your grace may be sure that the king’s majesty, your uncle, would not send them to you, unless he thought them a meet present for you.” “By my soul,” quoth he, “I thank much his grace ; and I assure you,” quoth he, “his gentle remembrance and kindness is more pleasure and comfort to me, than all the gifts and goods in the world. And I beseech you,” quoth he, “do but mind me what things his grace delighteth or taketh pleasure in ; for,” quoth he, “may I ken it, if I can get it betwixt this and the farthest part of Turkey, I shall want

of my will, but I shall have it for him. And," quoth he, "be they any commodity into my realm, that may stand to his pleasure, it shall be at his commandment." And so turned him to the lords, and began to praise the horses; and every man praised them much. Immediately after came in the master-houshold, and told the king, "that his dinner was on the board." Wherewith his grace went forth to his dining-chamber, washed, and sat down, and so bade the lords take me with them to dinner. The cardinal took me by the arm, and had me to a chamber where the lords used to dine. They made me sit at the highest place of the table, and entertained me very gently. There sat the cardinal, the bishop of Glasgow, who is chancellor, the earl of Huntley, the earl of Errol, the earl of Cassills, the earl of Athole, the bishop of Aberdeen, the lord Areskin, sir Walter Ogilvy, sir John Campbel, and two or three gentlemen more. After dinner they brought me again to the king in his privy-chamber, who, as soon as I came, took me apart into the window. I gave humble thanks to his grace for the entertainment, it pleased him to use to such a poor man as I. "Oh!" quoth he, "I will not use you as a stranger, nor none that cometh from the king, mine uncle. And," quoth he, "I know that ye are a good servant to his grace; I would all that had come betwixt him and me, would report the truth always, as I know ye have done. For, by God," quoth he, "I know that untrue reports of me to mine uncle have caused him to think unkindness in me, where I was without fault or blame." "By my truth, sir," quoth I, "the king's majesty, your uncle, shall have tales brought to him of you, and likewise your grace of him, which always shall not be true; but so long as the love and amity between you is such, as neither of you will give credence to light rumours, all shall be well enough. But such as would no good to neither of you, will ever be devising evil tales to stir some unkindness betwixt you. For," quoth I, "I think there be some that would not have you over great friends." "Marry," quoth he, "I beshrew their hearts, whatsoever they be; but by God," quoth he, "he is not

in Scotland that dare bring me an evil tale of mine uncle, nor say any thing against his honour ; for," quoth he, " may I ken * any such within my realm, of what degree soever he be, he shall have no less punishment, than if he faulted to us ; for," quoth he, " we shall ever take his cause as our own." " Sir," quoth I, " I shall, God willing, report your words to the king's majesty, your uncle, and I dare be bold to say, that his grace finding your deeds agreeable to your words, will not only shew himself a kind uncle to you, but also a father, and a great friend." " By my truth," quoth he, " and I had need, I would trust to have friendship of him ; and God send me no longer life, than my deeds and my words shall agree." Quoth I, " your grace may well perceive, by the advertisements that he hath now sent you by me, and also by his friendly advices and counsels, that his grace doth both love and trust you." " By my soul," quoth he, " I have advised me of the matter his grace hath advertised me of by you at this time, touching the cardinal here ; and," quoth he, " I can find no default in him. For when his letters were taken and holden in England, we heard of it, and asked him thereof ; and, by God," quoth he, " he had the doubles and copies of them, and shewed them all to us ; and we remember not that any thing was amiss in them." " Sir," quoth I, " did your grace see the double of a letter that he wrote to his clerk and agent at Rome." " Yea, marry," quoth he, " to one that is all his doer there." " Well, sir," quoth I, " if your grace do see the very original, then shall ye perceive, if the double and it agree." Quoth he, " Have ye the original here upon you ?" " Yea," quoth I, " that I have." " Take it out privily," quoth he, " as though it were some other paper, and let me see it." (The cardinal was in the chamber, and therefore, think I, he bade me take it out secretly.) I took it forth of my bosom ; and he took it and read it softly, every word from the beginning to the end. And in one place of the letter, the cardinal biddeth his agent " sollicit that nothing be done, that might in any

* Know.

wise irritate the king's grace, and his council, against the liberties of the holy kirk, considering the time is perillous." When the king did read those words; "By God," quoth he, "they dread me." "Sir," quoth I, "they know their own abuses, and they fear lest your grace should find them." "By my truth," quoth he, "if they do not well, ye shall ken that I will redress them." When he had read the whole letter, he took it me again; "And," quoth he, "in good faith, I have seen the double of it, word by word. But I have good cause to thank the king, mine uncle; for I see well," quoth he, "if his grace see any thing that should be to my displeasure or dishonour, he would advertise me of it; and by God," quoth he, "I shall do sicklike to him." "Sir," quoth I, "doth not your grace perceive by this letter the crafty pretences of the cardinal?" "Why?" quoth he, "wherein?" "Marry," quoth I, "he sheweth himself to be a great friend to your rebels and traitors, and deviseth to be their judge, because he would deliver them; and so your grace may easily see, how he laboureth to bring into his own hands, both the spiritual, and also the temporal jurisdiction of your realm." "No, no," quoth he, "I warrand you, we shall use him and all his fellows well enough, if they do not their duties. I may tell you," quoth he, "they dread me. And as for those men, Hutcheson and Harvy, which ye name traitors to us, in good faith," quoth he, "they are but simple men, and it was but a small matter; and we ourself made the cardinal the minister, both to commit them to the castle, and also to deliver them." "Sir," quoth I, "the matter is as ye please to take it; but it seemed so strange to the king's majesty, your uncle, and in such wise to touch your honour and surety, that he could not but advertise your grace thereof. And if your grace," quoth I, "think ye may justly take any advantage thereof, ye may at your pleasure. If not, the king's majesty prayeth you to compress it, and keep it secret to yourself." "Yes," quoth he, "I warrand you, his grace shall hear no more of the same." I assure your majesty, he excused the cardinal in every thing, and seemed

wondrous loath to hear of any thing, that should sound as an untruth in him, but rather give him great praise.

Wherefore, I thought good to leave that matter, and to iterate some part of the communication, which I had with him before, touching the alteration of the religious houses in Scotland. And I had ready in my bosom the device made of the alteration of Christ's church in Canterbury, which your majesty commanded me to take with me. * I took the same out of my bosom, and said to him, "Sir," quoth I, "your grace shall see here what a godly alteration the king's majesty, your uncle, hath made in England, of the religious houses there, which before nourished a sort of unprofitable and idle people;" and so I read the same alteration to him of the said Christ's church, which, he said, "Sure was both godly and charitable." "In this sort," quoth I, "his majesty hath transposed the most notable abbeys in his realm. And," quoth I, "would your grace do the like, and take some of them into your own hands, to the augmentation and increase of your revenue, surely it should stand much with your honour and great profit; and one house so altered, should tend more to the glory of God than they all now do." "By my truth," quoth he, "I thank God I have enough to live on, and if we mister † any thing that they have, we may have it at our pleasure." I began to reprehend their idle life, their vices, and abuses, wherein he interrupted me, and laughed, saying, "By God," quoth he, "they that be naught, ye shall hear that I shall redress them, and make them live like religious men, according to their professions." "Sir," quoth I, "it will be hard to do." "Well," quoth he, "you shall hear tell." And so began he to break off, as though he had no will to talk more thereof. Which perceiving, I

* Christ Church in Canterbury, which contained the shrine of St Thomas a Becket, was supposed to be one of the richest monasteries in Europe. It was dissolved by a commission dated at Westminster, March 20, anno 31 *Henrici Octavi*, and modelled, under the superintendence of Cranmer, into a collegiate church, containing eight prebendaries, ten petty canons, nine scholars, and two choristers.—See *Steven's Monasticon*, Vol. I. p. 385, 386.

† Need.

thought it not best to press him too far, but rather thought to enter in some other matter. And after a little pausing, "well, sir," quoth I, "at my last conference with you, I made a certain motion to your grace on the king's majesty's behalf, touching such a meeting as was once devised." "Yea," quoth he, "we shall talk more of that or ye go, and ye shall have such answer to that, and all your credence, as I trust shall be to the pleasure of the king, mine uncle, and that," quoth he, "with good expedition." And so he gave me a gentle countenance, with his cap in his hand, and bade sir Walter Ogilvy, and sir John Campbell to accompany me to my lodging. This is the whole circumstances of my proceedings and conferences since mine arrival here, whereof I thought to advertise your majesty, beseeching the same, if I have in any part not proceeded directly to your grace's pleasure, to impute the same to default of knowledge and experience in princes affairs, and not to any lack or default of good-will, which never shall be found in me. The next advertisement of my farther proceedings here, I think I shall bring to your majesty myself: For, as I understand, the king here intendeth to dispatch me away shortly, because he would go abroad in his realm about his pastime; whereunto, they say, he is marvellously given, and specially to hawking, both to the heron and the river; and (as they say) he is a great toiler and labourer at the same. It is told me that he lieth here purposely till I be dispatched, because I should not follow him no farther into his realm; so that, as I perceive, I shall have all expedition that may be; which had and obtained, with full answers to my charge committed to me by your majesty, I shall address myself to the same with all convenient diligence. Thus, the Holy Trinity preserve your royal majesty with long life and good health, in much joy and felicity, for ever to endure.

*A LETTER from RALPH SADLER to one of the Privy Council of England,
touching the matter preceding.*

My duty remembred unto your good lordship : It may please you to understand, that I arrived here on Tuesday the —— day of February. I did so appoint my journey, that the king's horses might be in Edinburgh within three or four days after mine arrival ; and afore mine entry into Scotland, I sent the herauld Berwick, and one of mine own folks, to prepare and appoint me a convenient lodging. They resorted to the provost of the town, who was appointed to lodge me ; and so he shewed unto them a mean lodging, in a poor merchant's house, which my folks liked not, and required a better. The provost answered, "That the king's council, and many noblemen, were lodged in the town, so that he could not appoint any better. But," quoth he to Berwick, "ye are well acquainted here ; if it like you to seek abroad in the town, look where you may find any honest house that is meet for your purpose, and if it be possible to have it ye shall." And so, in seeking for my lodging, Berwick met with one of the queen the king's majesty's sister's servants, and told him, "that he could get no lodging for me." "Marry," quoth the queen's servant, "the king hath appointed the provost to see him lodged." Quoth Berwick, "he will appoint none that is meet." The queen's servant went forthwith, and told her the same ; whereof she advertised the king, who immediately sent express commandment to the provost, to lodge me in a reasonable fair house in the town, which his grace named. Answer was made, "that the bishop of Ross lodged there." "I say," quoth the king, "in the foul evil, dislodge the bishop, and see that the house be fairly furnished against the ambassador's coming." The bishop was forthwith dislodged, and the lodging honestly appointed for me, both with beds and hanging of coarse tapestry, and all other things necessary. I assure your lordship, I am right well entertained here, specially of the

king. And surely it appeareth that I am very welcome to him, and to the most part of the noblemen and gentlemen here, that be well given to the verity of Christ's word and doctrine, whereof be a great number, but the noblemen be young. And, to be plain with you, though they be well-minded, and diverse other also that be of the council, and about the king, yet I see none amongst them that hath any such agility of wit, gravity, learning, or experience, to set forth the same, or to take in hand the direction of things. So that the king, as far as I can perceive, is of force driven to use the bishops and his clergy, as his only ministers for the direction of his realm. They be the men of wit and policy that I see here ; they be never out of the king's ear. And if they smell any thing that in the least point may touch them, or that the king seem to be content with any such thing, straight they inculk to him, how catholic a prince his father was, and feed him both with fair words and many, in such wise as by those policies they lead him (having also the whole governance of his affairs) as they will ; the prince being given, as he is, to much pleasure and pastime, giving small cure to his own affairs, but only committing his whole trust to them. But surely if he had one counsellor well given, that were a man of a good stomach, and had wit, knowledge, and learning, to go through with the matter, the king himself is of a right good inclination, and so is a great part of the nobility and commonality of this realm. I assure your lordship, since my coming hither, I have wished an hundred times in my heart, that the king's grace of Scots had one such servant and counsellor as the king's majesty hath of you ; and, I dare say, so would many thousands in Scotland ; for some of the honest men of the court here, and well esteemed, have wished the same before me since my coming hither. I have no good-will here of the bishops and priests, nor any of their band, which is yet too strong for the other side, as far as I can see. They raised a bruit here, " That I and all my folks did eat flesh here as hereticks and Jews ;" and thereupon open proclamation was made by the commandment of the cardinal, in all the churches within his dioceses, " That, whosoever should

buy an egg, or eat an egg, within those dioceses, should forfeit no less than his body to the fire, to be burnt as an heretick, and all his goods confiscate to the king.* And because they bruited that I and my folks did eat flesh, (wherein they falsly belied me; whereupon, as I gather, the said proclamation was made,) I seemed not to be content withall, and complained thereof in honest sort to such gentlemen of the court as resorted to me: insomuch, that the king had knowledge thereof, and, incontinently, he sent Rothesay, the herauld, to me, declaring, "That whatsoever publications were made, the king's pleasure was, I should eat what I would, and that victuals should be appointed for me of what I would eat." I thanked humbly his grace, and answered, "that I was belied, and untruly said of. For," quoth I, "I eat no flesh, nor none of my folks; nor," quoth I, "is it permitted in England in the Lent. Marry," quoth I, "I confess that I eat eggs and white meats, because I am an evil fishman, and I think it none offence. For if it were," quoth I, "I would be as loath to eat it as the holiest of your priests, that thus have belied me." Oh!" quoth he, "know ye not our priests? A mischief on them all! I trust," quoth he, "the world will amend here once." Thus I had liberty to eat what I would. Another bruit they made, "That all my men were monks, and that I had them out of the abbeyes in England, and now they were serving men." I gave a Greek word on my men's coat-sleeves, which is, *Μόνῳ ἄνακτι δούλω*; the Latin whereof is, *Soli regi servio*; *a rege tantum pendeo*; *ex regis ministerio unus*; and such other may be interpreted of the same. Now, the bishops here have interpreted my word to be, as they called it, *Monachulus*, which, as they say, is in English, "a little monk," as a diminutive of *Monachus*; and thus they affirmed for a verity. Whereupon they bruited that all my men were monks; but it appeareth they are no good Grecians. And

* I cannot but suspect, that this pretended proclamation must have been misunderstood, or exaggerated, by Sadler. Pinkerton, however, receives it as authentic.--*History of Scotland*, Vol. II. p. 359.

now the effect of my words is known, and they be well laughed at for their learned interpretation. Thus I trouble your lordship with trifles, to recreat you withall among your great affairs ; and forasmuch as I have written at length to the king's majestie of all my conferences and proceedings here since mine arrival, to the which your lordship shall be privie, I therefore omit any thing thereof in these my letters, trusting to bring the next advertisement myself.—And thus, &c.

[In 1541, Sadler was again dispatched to Scotland by Henry VIII. We have no notices of the progress of his negotiation, but the following voluminous and curious instructions show to what objects they were directed. James lent a deaf ear to all Henry's arguments on the subject of religion; but it would seem that Sadler wrung from him a dubious consent to meet his uncle at York, or elsewhere, in the north of England. His breach of this engagement filled Henry with deep indignation, and was a principal cause of the war which broke out between England and Scotland in the following year.]

COTT. MSS. CALIGULA, B. I. f. 52.

INSTRUCTIONS, by the King's Majestie, geven unto his trusty and welbi-
loved servent, RAFF SADELER, one of the gentilmen of his graces privie
chamber, sent at this tyme unto the King of Scotts.

Wheras the kings majestie hath appointed his trusty and welbiloved servent, Raffe Sadeler, to resort at this tyme to Scotland, his graces pleasor is that, taking with him lettres of credence, and such writings as be prepared for him, he shall, with all convenyent celeritie and diligence, reasorte thither, and addresse himself to such persones as he shall knowe moost mete to obtayne his accesse to the king of Scottes. The which, and audyence obteyned, with moost hartie and affectuouse comendations to him from the kings majestie, his uncle, he shall delyver his lettres of credence, and therewith saye, that his hieghnes hath comanded him to visite his grace; for his hieghnes, for the good and specyall love he beareth unto him, wold be very glad to understande that his saide nephew contynueth styll in good helth and prosperitie, and for the singuler affection and amitie his majestie beareth to his saied nephieu, hath at this time willed to make, and sende unto him, by the saied Sadlier, a small present and token of suche comodities as be in this reaulme, thought at this tyme moost mete for him, requiring him to accepte the same in good parte, considering the good hert and will, rather than the smallenes of the thing; and so forth with honest comunicacion and entretenement of wordes, to be spoken as thoccasion shall erve. The said Sadleyer shall require the king's said nephieu, that forasmoch as his majestie hath comitted unto him certayne thinges to be declared, that his graces pleasor may be, at that tyme, or at any tyme shortly hereafter, to appoint him

favorable audience for to heare his credaunce, to be declared unto himself, on the king's majesties bihaulf. The said audience obteyned, Mr Sadleyer shall expounde unto him, That the kings majestie having founde his grace, like a kinde nephieu, of a veray good disposicion and inclination towards his majestie, and by sondrie reaports and relations, brought to his hieghnes from dyvers parties, hath willed to open his mynde, and propose unto him further than he hath doon at any tyme; and, first, to thintent that his said nephieu might perchaunce conceave upon sondrie reaports and suggestion, that maye be made unto him some suspicion or doubte of sinceritie on his uncles bihaulf, by reason of certain apparate fortifications, preparacions, and provisions of warre lately begon to be made by his majestie within his graces realme and dominions of England, as a thing that shoulde tende to offende his said nephieu or his ffrendes, his maiestie hath willed, therefor, the saied Sadleyer to affirme, and for certaintie declare, unto his good nephieu, that assuredly, and without doubte, his graces saied preparacions be onely made for his defence, and for the suretie and savegarde of his good subjectes and realme, uppon certayn conspiracions practised against his noble majestie and realme, by the bishopp of Rome, and certayn his adherents and allies, intending his graces destruction by hoke or by croke, by phas or nephas, and the subversion of his hole comonwealth; ffor advoydaunce whereof, and for the defence of the hole, his majestie hath caused suche preparacions to be made, as he trusteth, with the helpe of God, (whose cawse he taketh and defendeth,) shalbe hable to withstande all the malice and conspiracie of the said bishopp, his adherents, and consorts; and whatsoever evail they shall take to offende his majestie and realme, his hieghnes doubteth not, but they shall find his hieghnes and all his subjects so ready to defend themselves, and so to withstand their violence, that after his saied enemyes shall have ones tasted therof, and taken thair assaye, his grace trusteth, with the healpe of God, they shall have little lust to go any further in thair attemptats. For this purpose doith his majestie prepare and provide, and for noon other; for to defende, and not to offende; onles th'offence shalbe in his defence; and therfore his hieghnes praieth his good nephieu, that whatsoever reaporthe shalbe made unto him, that might engendre any suspicion, or cawse any diminution of thair amitie, that he wolde geve no eare, herkenyng, nor bideave therunto; ffor assuredly his majestie entendeth, not onely to kepe and observe the hole tenor of the treaties of peax and alliaunce between them, but also, fyndyng him his good and gratefull nephieu, as his majestie, by the reaporthe of his herault Laucaster, lately returned from thens, and also sondrie other wayes, is advertised his hieghnes woll studye to encrease thair amitie, and bring the same to such perfeccion as maie be to the greatest comforte of both thair reaulmes that ever was; and therfor his majestie praieth him also, that, like a gentle kynd nephieu, and a prudent and a wise prince, he wolde and contynewe of like mutuall disposicion, whatsoever might be reaported or affirmed to him to the contrary; ffor assuredly shall he

fynde thad his majestie shall shewe his good purpose and this amyable declaration to be true in dede. Oneles he shulde be letted therof, as God forbidd, by the indisposicion of his saied nephieu, and by unkyndnes be dryven and constrayned therto, as his grace trusteth it shall never be seen; and further, to thintnt his good nephieu be not deceived, under the color of religion, and persuation of untrue and fayned tales, that might, by the crafte of his uncle's enemyes, be set forth as thinges of moost excellent pitie and holynes, albeyt his majestie, knowing that his said nephieu, (by his simplicities, truly meanyng and persuaded not to attribute to himself any lernyng or knowlege in maters of religion, but to leave the judgements and determination thereof to his clergie,) contynueh still in his persuation of the bishopp of Rome, (his cardynalls, adherents, and clergie of that sort,) holynesses, and that he is vicar of Christ in erth; whereupon seing the difficultie his highnes thinketh it shulde be to dissuade a thing alredy so persuated and beaten into his sayd nephew's heed, therfor is veray loth to move any thing concernyng the said bishopp that shulde offende his said nephew, yet nevertheles, both bicaus of the glorie of God, and that the mater towcheth the hieghnesses of both kings, the uncle and nephieu, and is of good importance to them both, his majestie is in maner compell'd and constrayned, so that (for to warne his good nephieu) he cannot but somewhet towch and open the crafte, illusion, and deceiptful practises of the said bishopp, to both thair greate disavantage, if the said bishopp could con passe his purpose to the evil ende that is by him intended; wherby, for the causes aforsaid, his majestie praieth his good nephieu, that contynuyng in such good simplicities (as he doith) not attributing to moch to his wyt, knowlege, or learning, but submitting the same utterly to the worde and doctrine of God, he woll nevertheles joyne to that simplicities, as Christ commanded his disciples, the prudence of a serpent; that is, not to thinke himself, as perchaunce sondrye of his clergie wolde have him to be, as brute as a stocke; or to mistrust, that his wyttis which he hath receaved of God, be not hable to perceave Christ's worde, which his grace hath left to us common to be understanden by all Christen men, as well by such as be learned in the Laten tongue, and heythen authors, and scriptures, as also by the unlearned, as thapostles were; not doubting but his good nephieu, endewed with such reason and witt, may as well understande theeffect of the true doctrine, and knowe the trowth of thinges, as the moost of the clergie, comonly ledd by thaffeccion they have to thair maintenance owt of thair princes hand, and of their auctorities in pompe and pride

Seconde, The king's majestie, his uncle, requireth his good nephieu, that for his better and moost assured knowledge, as well of the bishopp of Rome and his clergie as of other, he woll no lesse marke and geve credaunce to thair workes and dedes, than to thair fayer paynted wordes, the which maye be onely judged fayvred or unfayvred by workes and dedes; and observyng the same, his

hieghnes doubteth not but he shall fynde moche ease and perfeccion of knowledge of the veray trueth by the same, for that shall induce him to leane unto the pure worde of God, and to passe light uppon dreams of men, abused by supersticion, to blynde princes and other persons of moch simplicitie.

Third, His highnes prayeth his good nephiew, that like as he hath doon heretofore, he woll have regard that thorough the bishopp of Rome and his adherents, like false and leyenge reaports as they have made to sondry princes of Christendom, upon his uncle depraving all his good intencions, purposes, and deedes, he shal not conceave any evill opinion of his good uncle, nor be persuaded to thinke of him otherwise than of every christen, fidel, and catholique, as he is in dede the contrary whercof, neverthelcs his enemyes by (wresting of his doings to a perverse sense and interpretacion, as different from the veray true meanyng of his highnes, as the night is from the daye,) do sklaundre his grace; and the said bishopp sendeth about some of his mistres of the principall sorte to evill reaporthe, backbyte and sklaundre his majestie to the princes of Christendom and suborneth monkes, freers, and preachers, to diffame his grace to the common sort and people of Christendom, moved so do whatsoever he pretendeth under other colors, onely bicause his hieghnes, sticking to the word of God, hath abolished not onely certain thair Romayn abuses and supersticions in his realme; and taken upon him to exercise that power and autoritie upon his church of England, and the clergie thereof, that the bishopp of Rome many yeares craftly and deceitfully had usurped from his majestie, as he doith usurpe upon his good nephieu, and other kings and princes of Christendom, to thair greater detriment, then doubtles they be ware of, and albeyt his majestie trusteth his good nephieus circumspection and prudence to be such as he wold not prynt in his hert and mynd any evyll opinion or sinistre mocion against him; yett forasmoch as his majestie knoweth, the said bishop and his adherents for the mayntenaunce of their auctoritie, pride, and pompouse lyvyng, woll do thair uttermost to bring all the world in an evill opinion of his majestie, and move, irritate, and styrre them to endamage his hieghnes and subjects, if it canne be in his power, although his grace mistrusteth not the wysdom of kings and princes, to be such as being allied with his highnes, they woll not serve to the sayd byshops lusts and unlawfull desires, as his mistres now be lightly moved to beleave of his highnes thair frend and allie, any sinistre reaporthe or sklaundre, but rather rejecte that sorte of nuncios and sklaundrous orator, as themperor affirmeth to have latetly doon by the Cardinall Pole, the kings rebell, who wanderith about to publishe a bull of the said bishops against his hieghnes, so distaunt, and farre different and wide from all equitie, humanitie, and reason, as hell is from heavyn, nor unworthie to be compared unto hell, as a veray synke of all wyckednes, crueltye, and tyranye; cloked, neverthelcs, with a cloke of religion, t' abuse the simple unprudent therewith. His grace

trusteth that the French king, his good brother, whiche sheweth no lesse amitie unto him than ever he did, woll eyther not admitte the saied Poole, or reject him as themperor hath doon, yet, nevertheles, forasmoch, as his majestie doubteth not, but such evill angells and tentators shal be sent unto his saied nephieu to seduce him if they canne, his hieghnes hath thought to warne and advertise his good brother and nephieu, eftsones to geve no light credaunce to thair tales; and to beware to becom mynystre of the sayd bishopp, suffering the cruaultie of his bull, conteyning his uncles diffamations, to be published, nor any effect thereof to be executed, thinking the sayd bull to be noon other than a veray ravenyng wolf under a sheps skynne. And in cace his good nephieu shuld be in any thing concerning his good uncles procedings, in doubte or half persuaded by them, that yett he woll suspende the full persuasion, untill such tyme as he maye be better enformed of the trueth from those parties. Assuring him, that like as by his dealings to the contrary, and obeying to the bishopp of Romes, and to his satellits, charmes, and incantacions, he shulde do against thonor, not onely of his saied uncle, but also of all other kings and princes of like estate and degree, whose sklander redoundeth to the hole ordre. So at the last, the same shuld torne to his dishonor and greate detriment; and perchaunce, upon a veray light cace, the said bishopp might take occasion for the favor of the clergie, if he shuld go about to redresse or reforme any of thair misde-meanors in Scotland, to serve him a like as he wold serve the king's hieghnes. The practises of prelats and clerks be wondrouse, and thair juglyng so craftye, as oneles a man be ware therof, and as oculate as Argus, he maye be lightly ledd by the nose, and beare the yoke, yea and (yett for blyndenes) not to knowe what he doith. They have alredy prepared such false interpretations of scripture, and layed such snares in the waye of princes to deceave them, that princes ought consideratly to thinke upon, or ells be deceyved. These persuasions the king's majestie (havyng passed the daungier of such thinges, and had experience of the matters,) is more constant to require of his good nephewe, desiring him now affectuously to waye and consider the same; and never to beleave any such absurd reaports of any prince, till he hath herd the saying of the partie sklaundred, ffor no judgement shuld be geven partie inaudita. The said Sadler shall as of himself affirme to the king of Scotts, that being he of his uncles privye chambre, and of long season accoynted with his procedinges, he knoweth the king his masters true meanyng, upright dealing, and procedinges to be of such reason, truth, and innocencie, as he wisbeth all the world might know the ground and veray secrecies therof. And that the kings hieghnes doubteth not, but to his greate prayse, all the world wold allowe his doyngs. If they wold heare the groundes, reasons, and circumstances therof, yea, and further, his majestie shuld accept for a very kind parte yf his nephew, or any other prince that were perchaunce sinistrelly enformed therof, shuld desire his hiegh-

nes, by waye of frendlye amitie, to enforme them of his veray true meanyng, reason, and grounde of suche his procedinges, as be sklaundred abroad to the perverse sense bfore his said nephieu, or they shuld persuade themselves therto. And that assuredly his majestie tenderith so moch, that his good brother and nephieu shuld conceave no evill opinion of him; that he wold not sticke for that purpose, and entreteing of thair amitie and alliaunce, and increase of love, not onely to sende unto the king his nephew, secretly some good, honest, and true lerned man, to enforme him therof, if he were disposed to geve unto them, (he himself, without the presence of his clergie, or thair partiall fautors,) favorable audience and permission so to do, but also in his majesties own person, take payne to approche nerer those parties in som commodiouse place, and take a tyme with his own mouth, and very worde to declare himself, and other many thinges to the king his nephew, if his grace receaving good and sufficient hostages, (if nede were, or if he mistrusted any thing,) wold vouchsafe to mete and assemble in any commodiouse parte northwarde, *nere unto thair borders*, with his majestie; not doubtinge, but his said nephew shuld afterwarde thinke the same so commodiouse unto him as he wold for no good have forborne it. The costs and charges were not great for both parties; intending his majestie as he is advised for this somer, to take his progresse northward, and his good nephew not farr distaunt from the same, might take his progresse thiderward, yet, nevertheles, he remitteth the same to his nephews discrecion, perceaving that by the meanes of his clergie, by all likelihode he shall be (as he was sometye afore,) dissuaded of the same, and persuaded to the contrary.

Finally, The kings hieghnes hearing, by true intellygences and advertisements, that the bishopp of Rome, and his faccion of cardynalls, and adherents, have conspired in any wyse to compasse his majesties and true subjects destruccions, (as with Godd's grace, it shall never be in thair powers, and assuredly his hieghnes doubteth not thereof,) and for to bring thair mischevouse purpose, that they do intende to irritate and seduce both themperor and the French king, and his said nephew also, against his uncles majestie; and as som of his graces intelligences do support the sayd bishopp, intendeth under fayer wordes to allure the king of Scotts, by the meane of other princes, if he canne get them (as his majestie trusteth he shall not, and that they be to wyse and circumspect to condescende to such, his cruell and tyrannik purposes,) to make his sayd nephew, bicause his realme adjoyneth unto England, and as a prince and a king, on whose perill and daunger they have not moch regard, but only for thair own purpose, to be a ringleader and chief setter-forth of hostilitie against his uncle, not caryng whither both uncle and nephew shuld consume ech other, so that the holy father and his apostells of Rome (God knoweth how far unlike to Christ and his apostells,) might have thair purpose. Therfor, his majestie requireth his sayd nephew to waye what fayer wordes, promises, and amities, be at

this day emongs many men, who for the moost parte do love for thair own profite, assuredly his sayd nephewe maye be assured that sondrye his frends called, have not (to saye the trowthe) loved him, but loved onely the commoditie and profit which they myght take of hym, and fedd him for thair own purpose, to his greate losse, disquiet, and damage, and for a reward procured his destruccion. And to the contrary, (if he knowe well the trouthe,) such as he toke for his adversaries, meaned well towards him and his preservacion. Lett him remember that no prince hath so greate instinct of nature to love him as the king's hieghnes, being so nere of his kinne and blud, and as his good uncle beareth no lesse affection to him than a father to his own child, as he hath often tymes shewed. If evill reapers, which were about his sayd nephew, wold have suffered the same to be so taken, and to have knowen and tried the trowth, his majestie requireth him to considre what amitie and love hath been between sondrye of thair predecessors toguether, more than ever was beetween any other princes, as lately with his noble predecessor King Henry the Fifth, who was with his predecessors power assisting to his conquest of Fraunce, and after his decesse, the bodye acompanyed to London. And latelyer, the greate favor and love his majesties father King Henry VIIIth. of noble memorye, bare unto King James, whom God absolve, which amities were never broken of the English partie, but ever by the instigation of other, under colour of sincere amitie, which was nothing so, but rather fayned, the breache hath been begon on that partie, how moch to thair detriment his highnes is sorye to thenke upon. Wherfor, his majestie adviseth him, as a veray uncle shuld, his loving nepheiew to consider and waye well what the amities of sondrye princes to him be, and have been, why, and wherfor, and to forsee what might chaunce. If he shuld fortune for other meyns pleasor attempte any entreprise, specially where the matier that his hieghnes defendeth is Godds, and his words own cawse, and the conservacion of the ryght of kings and princes, usurped by the sayd bishopp. The king's majestie exhorteth not his nephewe to departe from his amytie that he hath with Fraunce and ellswhere, (for they be his majesties frends also,) rather willing to conciliate amytie betwen them, if there were any enemitie; but his meaning is, that his nephiewe shalbe ware what entreprises he taketh for any other princes pleasor; and to have regard that, in such thinges (that sort of circumspection be had) as *crassa ignorantia*, whiche excuseth not the conscience, maye be avoyded.

EMBASSY TO SCOTLAND

IN

1543.

VOL. I.

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EMBASSY TO SCOTLAND IN 1543.

The ruin and disgrace which fell upon the Scottish arms by the rout at Solway Moss broke the heart of James V.; and his daughter, born a few days before his death, succeeded to a crown which was seldom a blessing to its owners. Henry VIII. conceived the natural and rational purpose of uniting the two kingdoms by a contract of marriage betwixt Edward his son and the infant heiress of Scotland. The prisoners taken at Solway Moss were treated with kindness, and finally dismissed upon their parole, and solemn promise to aid this project of the English monarch. Among these were the earls of Cassilis and of Glencairn, the lords Maxwell, Somerville, Oliphant, and Gray. They were sent down to Scotland, that they might assist with their influence in a parliament called by the earl of Arran, now regent of Scotland. Our Sir Ralph Sadler was dispatched by Henry as his plenipotentiary on this important occasion, with instructions, it would seem, to keep the liberated captives steady to their engagements, to extend and strengthen the English influence in the Scottish parliament, and to labour for completing the contract upon the terms most advantageous for England. But, before his arrival, the Scottish parliament had adopted a set of articles upon this important subject, which the reader will find subjoined. The principal provision respected the custody of the infant princess; the parliament demanded that she should reside in Scotland until she was ten years old complete, hostages being offered to Henry for her delivery at that period. The English monarch was desirous that she should be immediately put into his power.

ACT APPOINTING AMBASSADORS TO BE SENT TO ENGLAND.

March the *xiii* *jaj* *vc* and *xlii*.

The quhilk day anentis ye artiklis proponit be my lord chanceler, tuiching the depesche of thair imbassadoris nemmit in the conduct send be the king of Ingland to pass toward him, to trete, commoun, contract, and conclude uponne the peis betuix the realmes, lang or schort, or lang as may be gottin, be land and

se; and sicklik, to commoun, trete, conclude, and contract uponne mariage betuix the quene our souerane, and Edward prince of Valis, and apperand here-tour of Ingland, and in his behalf with the ryght excellent prence Henry king of Ingland his fader. The lordis of artiklis eftir that thai had hard my lord governours mynd in that behalf, haif and consideration of the aduersite of tyme bigane, and of the dangerous apperand of stait of the tyme instant, and sicklik to cum, hes concludit that ane ample commissioun be maid, and send with the imbassadoris that ar to depart to the said king of Ingland, for taking, treting, and concluding of ane pece, perpetuallie, or for lang tyme or schort; and sicklik ane uthyr commissioun to be maid to the saidis imbassadoris, to commoun, trete, conclude, and contract the said mariage; with sic restrictions and condittions as sal be gevin to thaim be my lord governour, with avise of the lordis to be chosin be him thareto, and as thai devise, to produce the samin agane before the lordis of artiklis, that thai may consult thereupon; of the quhilkis the tenor followis.

*The Instructions to the Imbassatouris to be send to the King of Ingland, for contract-
ing of Peice and Mariage, &c. to be extendit at large.*

In the first, the arrange to be maid at lenth ansuerand to the king of Inglandis first writtingis, and all uthreis in schort and brief send sensine as sal be devisit.

Item, The commissioun for contracting of the said mariage beand amply consauit and red to the king of Ingland, or his commissaris, it is supponit thai will desyre certain poyntis and securite for keeping of the said contract, to the quhilks it sal be ansuerit be the saidis imbassatouris, and sal be desirit be thaim for the part of Scotland, as efter followis:

And first, Geve it be askit on the king of Inglandis behalf, that the quenis grace our souerane lady be deliverit to him, or in Ingland, to be kepit quhill the completeing of the said mariage; it is to be ansuerit, that it is an ryte hie and ryte grete inconvenient to the realme of Scotland to grant thairto, for sic resons and causis as the imbassadouris hes hard declarit be the counsale of Scotland, and as thai can schew particuarlie be thaimselfis, not belevand that the king of Inglandis majestie is of sic hie wisdom that he will nevir desyre the samin. Tharefor, it cannot be grantit be resoun, bot that hir grace may remane and be kepit in this reaime quhill sche may be abill to complete mariage.

Item, As for the keping of our said souerane ladyis personne within the realme of Scotland, it is devisit and ordainit be the thre estatis of this realme in parliament, that hir personne be keptit and nurist principallie be hir moder, and four lordis of the realme that ar lest suspect, and chosen thareto.

Item, In caiss it be desirit for the part of the king of England, that sum Inglismen, or Inglis ladyis be present with our souerane lady, &c. To that it is to be ansuerit, that it sal be leful to put honourable knyts of England, ane or twa, with als mony ladyis of honour, with thair servandis, men and women, to remane for the mair suir keping of our said souerane ladyis personne, and to remane uponne the king of England expenses; and in caiss that our said souerane ladyis moder deceis, or depart furth of the realme of Scotland, there sal be chosen sum of the maist nobill and vertuis ladyis of that realme to remane with hir grace.

Item, Gif it be desirit for the part of England, that securite be maid for delivering of our said souerane lady within England at her perfite aige, abill of the law to be maryit, and for fulfilling of the said contract in all pointis; and first gif thai desyre our said souerane ladyis personne, it sal be ansuerit as is afore writtin. And gif thai desire ony strenthis of the realme in pledge and securite, or uthir pledges, sic as baronis or nobillmen of the realme, it sal be ansuerit to that artikle, lik as for the delivering of the quenis persoun, and be sic resons as the saidis imbassatouris can schew.

Item, In caiss the contract of mariage pass fordwart, and heis concordit with, sic condesions as is before writtin, it is to be desirit for the part of Scotland, that the realme stand in the awin liberte and fredomes, as it is now and has bene in all tymes bigane, to be gidit and gouernit be my lord governour that now is, quhill our said souerane ladyis perfite aige, bot ony stope or impediment to be maid to him be the king England or his successouris, and that the said lord governour sal tak up and intromet with all, and sundry the rentis, profitis, and emolumentis, baith of properte, and casualite, to be dispoit be his grace as he sall think expedient, without ony compt to be maid be him or his successouris there-uponne, als wele in tymes bigane sen he was declarit governour, as in tyme to cum.

Item, The quenis grace being of perfit aige, and mareit in England, it is to be providit for the state, rycht, and liberte of the realme, and how all sould stand and be gydit at all tymes tharefter, quhidder our said souerane lady haif successioun of hir persoun or nane; tharefore, it sal be desirit as efter followis, that is to say, that this realme sal evir haif and beir the name of Scotland, and to broke

the auld liberte, privileges, and fredomes, in all estatis, as it hes bene in all tymes bigane, and sal be gidit and governit under ane governour, borne of the realme self, and sal be gidit be the awin lawis, and sal haife ane continuale and perpetuale sete and college of justice, sitand in the tolbuith of Edinburgh, sicklike as it is statute and ordainit be the kingis grace, quom God assolzie, and sall haif all sheriffis, stewartis, and utheris officiaris sicklik as thai ar now at this tyme, without ony appellation, reclamation, or seking ony remeid of law upon the court furth of the realme of Scotland.

Item, That our souerane lady induring hir lifytyme, nor hir successouris, kingis or quenis of England, sall not call or summond ony of the realme of Scotland to ony the parliamentis or courtis, except to the parliamentis or courtis to be haldin within the realme self.

Item, That in caiss the quenis grace our souerane lady cummis to perfite aige, and passis furth of the realme, it is to be desirit, that my lord governour that now is, remane governour of thys realme for all the dayis of his lif, and efter his deceiss, that the narrest lauchful of his blude, abill to succede, and to exerce the said office, sal be maid governour of the realme be our said souerane lady and hir successouris succedand to the crone of England, be large and ample commission, of the quhilk the forme is to be devisite.

Item, Gif it happens our said souerane lady to be maryit, as said is, with the prince of England, it is to be desirit, that in caiss it sall happen the said prince deceis before hir grace, without ony airis lawful to be gottin betuix thaim, our said souerane lady sal be deliuerit agane be the king of England and his successouris in the realme of Scotland for unmareit to ony other man, or of ony other band, baith of hir personne and of hir realme.

Item, In caiss it sall happin our said souerane lady to haif airis and successouris lawfullie to be gottin of hir body betuix hir and the said Prince Eduart, gif it happins thame, or thair lawful successioun linealie descendand of thaim to falze in ony maner of wayis, than and in that caiss the narrest and lawful air to our said souerane lady and hir airis and successouris forsaidis into this realme be the lawis of the samin, sal haif full rycht and regress to the crone and realme, and sall broike and joiss the samin, with rycht, and liberteis, and fredomes, siclik as it has bene in tymes bigane without ony impediment, clame, or rycht, that may tuich ony properte or possessioun in ony maner of wayis in all or part to be askit thareto be the king of England, or the successouris to our said souerane lady.

Memorand. To ask landis to be gevin to our said souerane lady in dowre, extending be zeir to X. M. Li. Strueling fre of all charges, and lyand nixt the boundis of Scotland.

Item, Gif it happins the said contraict of mariage to be complitit, and our said souerane lady deliuerit in Ingland, notwithstanding all the strenthis of Scotland sall remane in the handis of the nobill men of the realme, as sall pleiss my lord governour, ay and quhile there be lawful succession gottin betuix the saidis Prince Eduart and our said souerane lady apperand to succede to the crone of Scotland and Ingland.

The Instructionis of the Peice and Artiklis of new to be eikit thareto.

Item, It is thocht expedient, that the peice perpetualie be contractit betuix realmes efter the forme of the auld peice, levand proviso.

Item, That it be providit in the peice anent the debatable landis to be devidit, swa that ilk realme may ken their awin part, and punish the inhabitants thareof for their demerits, providing alwayis that Canybe fall hale to Scotland.

Item, That the debatable ground betuix Tiviotdale and Ingland be markit and marchit, sua that every realme know thair awin pairt, and utheris partis of the marchis quhare ony question of pley is.

The parliamentary commissioners appointed to carry these articles to England, were, Sir James Learmonth of Balcomy, Sir William Hamilton of Sanquhar, and Henry Balnavis of Hall-hill, secretary of state. In the course of the negociation, the earl of Glencairn and Sir George Douglas were dispatched to their assistance with some modification of the terms.

LETTERS
DURING
THE EMBASSY TO SCOTLAND
IN 1543.

*A LETTER from Sir RALPH SADLER to the King's Majesty of England,
the 20th of March, 1543.*

PLEASE it your royal majesty to understand, that upon Sunday, at afternoon, I arrived here at Edinburgh ; and, the day before, they had prorogate their parliament, till upon a new summons, which, as I understand, they intend to call in April or May, if the cause shall so require. Upon my arrival I repaired forthwith to the governour,* whom I found in a garden at the palace of Holyrood-house, and delivered unto him your majesty's letters, with your majesty's hearty commendations, according to my instructions. And after he had demanded of your majesty's health, and welcomed me, which he did in very gentle sort, he delivered your grace's letters : And that done, took me a little a-part, and said, saying, "That I was very heartily welcome ;" with further, "Th

* James Hamilton, earl of Arran, next heir to the crown, and governor of Scotland.

ceived I had credence unto him, he would, with right good will, hear the same." Whereupon I thought to enter with him, and so declared my credence committed unto me by your majesty, in such manner and form in effect as my instructions do purport. He answered me, "That your majesty had his heart above all princes; and that your grace should have him at command in all things reasonable, saving his duty of allegiance to his sovereign lady and this realm." Thus he qualified his affection. and said, "That the ambassadors were dispatched, and ready to take their journey towards your majesty, with such things as, he trusted, should content your majesty." There was a great company of noblemen and gentlemen about him, which pressed so near him, as it seemed to me, that either he would fain have had me in some other place, where he might have secretly communed with me, or else intended to take counsel afore he entred farther with me. For so he knit up his talk, (as indeed he is a man of no long communication or great discourse,) saying, "He would the next day speak with me more at length, and thought it meet for me to go rest myself for that time, because I had so travelled." Whereunto I said, "That I was indeed weary of riding, and would therefore follow his advice, and wait upon him again at his pleasure." He bade Sir George Douglas* convoy me to my lodging, which he did. Whilst the said governour was reading your grace's letters, the noblemen about him, with the chancellor, being the bishop of Glasgow,† the earls of Angus,‡ Huntley, Glencairn,

* Sir George Douglas of Pittendriech, brother to Archibald, seventh earl of Angus. He was a man of spirit and talents; shared with his brother in the power which he possessed during the minority of James V.; was banished with him, and almost all the name of Douglas, into England, where they remained till the death of the king; and were then sent by Henry back to their native country, along with the Solway prisoners, in order to strengthen the English party in Scotland. In the subsequent part of the letter, Sir George is styled only *Mr Douglas*. This is not a solitary instance of a knight being distinguished by this inferior title. Sir Walter Raleigh was knighted in 1584-5, yet in a letter, quoted by Dr Birch, in his *Memoirs of Elizabeth*, Vol. I. p. 55, he is called *Mr Raleigh*; and our Sir Ralph Sadler is, in some correspondence of this time, called *Mr Sadler*.

† Gavin Dunbar, archbishop of Glasgow, had been chancellor for fourteen years during the reign of James V., and was continued in office on Arran's becoming regent.

‡ Archibald Douglas, the seventh earl of Angus. He had married the queen-dowager

Cassils, Marishal, with others divers that were there, did embrace and welcome me in gentle sort. And so being accompanied to my lodging, with the said Sir George Douglas, and divers other gentlemen about him, by the way we talked of their parliament at large; in which talk the said Sir George told me, "That they had agreed all well together; and though in the beginning one began to grin at another, yet was there none that would bite, nor they would not fall out amongst themselves, whereby they might the rather make themselves a prey to their enemies." And with this talk of the manner of the holding of their parliament, whereat they wished I had been to see the same, in general words we passed the way to my lodging; and being entred into my chamber, I told Mr Douglas that I longed to speak with him, and had much matter to commune with him from your majesty. He desired no less to speak with me, as he said; and so we drew a-part by ourselves. I began with him in this sort: "That your majesty had commanded me to use his advice in all things as his trusty servant; and therefore I prayed him first to declare unto me the state of all things here, as your majesty trusted he would do sincerely." "Marry," quoth he, "I have laboured with all my power to do the king's majesty service, and will do while I live, wherein I have always pretended outwardly the commonwealth of Scotland, and spake not much of England, because I would not be suspected. And I am sure," quoth he, "I have so bent my wits thereunto, as I trust I have deserved thanks of his majesty. I slept not," quoth he, "three hours in one night thir six weeks. For," quoth he, "we have had much business with many noblemen, and of the greatest sort, as the earls of Huntley, Argyle,* Bothwel, and Murray, which would have made a

of Scotland, relict of James IV., and possessed great power during James V's minority. But the king, upon assuming the regal authority, banished Angus, his family, and favourers, and they remained in England until his death. They had just returned to Scotland, and been restored by parliament.

* Archibald, fourth earl of Argyle. He died 1558.

party against us, if they could, with almost the whole clergy, and determined to have holden another parliament in St Johnston; but," quoth he, "I have prevented them, and got the town before them, so that they could not settle there; and then the governour, by mine advice, sent them an express commandment, under pain of treason, to come to the parliament, and to attend on him at the same, for the common weal of the realm: which," quoth he, "they (perceiving themselves not able to make a party) were fain to do, save the earl of Argyle, who sent his procurator, being himself very sick. And now," quoth he, "all is well, and we have kept our parliament honourably, agreeing well together, and have concluded, by open parliament, that the king's majesty shall have the marriage of our young mistress, and that we shall be assured friends to England for ever, as," quoth he, "I wrote to my Lord William* lately. By the which (if he send my letters to the king's majesty, as I hope he will) his highness shall perceive the whole plot of our doings here in our parliament. And now," quoth he, "our ambassadors be ready to go to his majesty, with full power to conclude and contract the marriage: Which being done, there is no doubt but, by little and little, his majesty shall have his whole desire. And this," quoth he, "is the state of those affairs." "Mr Douglas," quoth I, "the king's majesty hath a trust and confidence in you, and my lord, your brother, whom he taketh for his faithful servants; and his majesty," quoth I, "forgetteth not the large promises and offices of your said brother, and the other noblemen which lately were with him, of the good success whereof his majesty is daily in expectation, and yet since the beginning he hath had but cold advertisements from you: Wherefore, I pray you," quoth I, "how be the noblemen affected to his majesty? which be assured of his majesty's party? and why have ye not written more frankly from time to time?" "By my truth," quoth he, "for my part and my brother's, we have written from time to time as things have gone here; but for the offices and promises of the lords ye

* *i. e.* Lord William Howard.

speak of, I told you," quoth he, "at Newcastle, they were never, nor yet be able to perform them, though the most of them be well affected, as the earls of Glencairn and Cassils, the lords Maxwell, Somervail, and Gray: The rest," quoth he, "are mean men, and the others that be of any power are slipt and gone; so that there is no hold of them, specially the Earl Falloway is the worst that may be. But," quoth he, "my brother and I have many friends come to us; so that we, with those noblemen aforementioned, which have been assured to the king's majesty, are too strong a party for the rest, so long as we keep the governour that he start not from us; for by him we must work all things for the king's purpose, unless we should go to it by force, which will not," quoth he, "the time serveth not." "Well," quoth I, "Mr Douglas, the king's majesty hath had large offers, as ye know, both for the government of the realm, and to have the child brought into his hands, with also the strong holds, according to your promises; and if your ambassadors should now come with mean things, not agreeable to his highness, you are a wise man, ye know what may ensue thereof." "Why," quoth he, "his majesty shall have the marriage offered to be contracted, and they have authority to conclude it; and having that first, the rest of his desires may follow in time. But for my part," quoth he, "I made no such promise as ye speak of; and they that made such promises, are not able to perform them. For surely," quoth he, "the noblemen will not agree to have her out of the realm, because she is their mistress; but they are content, that the king's majesty shall appoint some gentlemen of England, and some English ladies, to be here about her person, for her better tuition, at his majesty's pleasure; and this entry at the first may bring her wholly into his hands in short time; but I tell you," quoth he, "all things cannot be done at once. And this I have done," quoth he, "by my policy since I came hither. First, I have so insinuate myself with the governour, that I am in chief credit with him; I have caused him pull down the cardinal, who was, and would have been, chief enemy to the king's

purposes;* I have brought the said governour also wholly to the king's majesty's devotion; so that he esteemeth his majesty above all other princes, and clean have I altered him from France, so that he and all this realm shall be wholly dedicate to his majesty. And now," quoth he, "the marriage being concluded, and a knight or a noble man of England, with such English ladies as shall please the king to set about the person of this young lady, being once appointed, the league and band of France being also refused and annulled here, whereat," quoth he, "there will be no sticking; the subjects of both the realms having liberty to have intercourse, and to resort one with other without safe conduct, which shall engender a love and familiarity betwixt them; and the noblemen and young gentlemen here, repairing from time to time to the court of England, being well and gently entertained there, as the king's majesty, of his gentle nature, can well entreat them; yea," quoth he, "and the governour himself also coming to his majesty, as he hath promised. These things," quoth he, "in time shall bring the nobility of this realm so far in love with his majesty, that he shall have the whole direction and obedience of the same at his pleasure. And again," quoth he, "of the other party; if there be any motion now to take the governour from his state, and to bring the government of this realm to the king of England, I assure you, it is impossible to be done at this time. For," quoth he, "there is not so little a boy but he will hurl stones against it, and the wives will handle their distaffs, and the commons universally will rather die in it, yea, and many noblemen and all the clergy be fully against it; so that," quoth he, "this must needs follow of it: The cardinal shall be set at liberty, who hath been much sued for, and yet we have kepted him in maugre their hearts; ambassadors shall be sent into France; the French army, if it do arrive here, as it is thought, which we do intend

* Cardinal Bethune, who, as a Roman Catholic prelate, was totally averse to the English match, was at present imprisoned by the governor in the castle of Dalkeith. He was transferred to Blackness, and from thence he prevailed on the governor to let him go to his own castle of St Andrews, under the guard of Lord Seton.

to resist and to fight with them, if they come, shall be accepted ; all the preparations that may be, shall be made for defence against you, and the governour wholly fall to the devotion of France : so that the king's majesty shall then be driven to use his force, and what pain and charge it will be to win this realm so, it is easily to be considered : whereas now his majesty may win it wholly to his devotion with fair means in time, as is aforesaid, without any trouble or expences. And this," quoth he, " is my opinion, which I would express to the king's majesty himself, if I were afore him." " Mr Douglas," quoth I, " ye have said well ; but yet being so many wise men in this realm as there be, I cannot think, that, rather than they would agree to things reasonable and beneficial for both the realms, as the king's majesty desireth none other, they would so soon determine to be at utterance of the wars with his majesty, specially as things do stand amongst you. For," quoth I, " methinks, though ye have agreed well this parliament, yet there be parties among you, as indeed the earls of Argyle and Glencairn be at great distance ; and," quoth I, " your brother and you, with the other lords which ye have told me, be assured on the king's party, standing firmly with his majesty, which shall make the strongest party within this realm, joyning thereto the king's power ; what can the rest of this realm prevail against the same, though France and them ?" " I grant," quoth he, " the king's majesty is like to have the upper hand, God being with him ; and yet," quoth he, " I dare say we here shall be a small party ; for, in this case, all our friends will leave us, whatsoever they do now. And I dare say to you," quoth he, " if those things be now mentioned, it would grow to a jarr. Wherefore," quoth he, " I give you mine advice, in case ye have any instruction to treat with the governour of this matter, touching the government of this realm, ye shall forbear the same ; for if ye enter with him of that point, whereof he may take or conceive any suspicion in the king's majesty, surely it will follow as I tell you. Well," quoth he, " ye shall see me handle the governour well enough." I asked him then, " how I might speak with his brother ?" He said, " he would

appoint with him, that we should meet together the next morning at the Black-Friars, in this town, at mass."

After supper, came to me to my lodging my lord Somervail, * and told me, "That things had not succeeded in all points as he thought, and would they had; but yet there was no doubt but all should well be." I prayed him to tell me how, and in what sort, he, with the rest of the lords and others that were with your majesty, had proceeded since their home coming. He told me, "That they were not all of one sort; for the earl Bothwel was slipt from them, and calleth them the English pensioners, and the lord Fleming not all the best; but the earl of Angus, though he be too much led and directed by his brother George, † was perfect good and assured, with also the earls of Cassils and Glencairn, the lords Maxwel and Gray. The rest," he said, "were but mean personages; and before they came home," he said, "there was a governour chosen, which somewhat changed their case. Nevertheless, they delivered your majesty's letters; and as the overtures and promises made by them to your majesty were referred to their credence by your majesty's said letters, to be proponed by them; so they proponed the marriage, and left speaking of the government of the realm, because there was a governour already chosen, thinking that the marriage once agreed, whereby your majesty should have an interest in the heretrix of the realm, the rest should also succeed in time by little and little. And then, because they thought the cardinal would be an enemy to all your majesty's purposes, and draw the go-

* Our historians say, that Hugh, the sixth lord Somerville, was made prisoner at Solway Moss. But in a MS. history of the family, in possession of my noble friend who now represents it, it is said, that not lord Somerville, but his son James, Master of Somerville, who did not succeed to the title till his father's death, in 1550, was so made prisoner. Yet from Rymer's *Fœdera*, these letters, and other authorities, it would seem, that lord Hugh was the person.

† Godscroft, the historian of the family, says, that Angus was much guided by sir George Douglas's opinion, as being more learned, and of greater eloquence than himself; insomuch, that his common answer to any suit was, "We shall advise with our brother."--*History of the House of Douglas*, Vol. II. p. 132.

vernour and the realm to the devotion of France, they got matter against him, and laid hands on him, wherewith many were sore offended. Nevertheless, they stuck so well to it, that they prevailed against the rest that were of the other side. And now," he said, "the ambassadors were dispatched to go to your majesty with ample power to conclude the marriage and the peace; which done, all shall be well." I asked him whether they had also concluded, that the child should be brought into your majesty's hands? He answered, "That he and they which stand on your majesty's part, would fain have had it so, but the rest of the great lords (which were a great number) would not agree to it; but he trusted that some mean would be devised therein for the time to please your majesty, and the rest would also succeed in time." I asked him how they would conclude a peace with your majesty, that might ever stand valeable to both their realms, when by their league with France they are bound to the contrary, without reservation or exception of France? Quoth he, "We will utterly leave them, and go with you against France, which we may do without offence of the league; for they have broken with us many times, as we be able to prove. And," quoth he, "I would wish to God that the marriage were once contracted, for that shall bring all the rest of the king's purposes to pass, which cannot otherwise be accomplished without great cumber; and," he said, "all the lords of your majesty's part were of the same opinion." This was our communication in effect.

The next morning I met with my lord of Angus, in the Black-Friars here, by appointment, where I found also the earl of Glencairn; and first, I discoursed with the great earl of Angus at length, thereafter with the earl of Glencairn, † and then with both together. I found them both assured to your majesty in my poor opinion; but

† William, fourth earl of Glencairn. He had been lord high treasurer of Scotland during the minority of James V., was a prisoner at Solway, and on his return was one of the commissioners for bringing about the English match. He died in 1547.

they excused the not proponing of the matter for the government for your majesty, because "there was a governour chosen before, which," they say, "did change the case." I remembred them of their large promises made to your majesty, which they confessed; and, as I smelled them, indeed they were not well able to perform them. For my lord of Angus told me plainly, "That his friends came not into him at the first." But I found them both of one opinion, both together and apart, that they had proponed the marriage for an introduction to the whole; and they said, "There was no doubt but your majesty once having the interest in the young queen, all the rest of your grace's desires should follow." I entred with them for the custody of her, how she should be brought to your majesty's hands. They told me, "That could not yet be obtained; for the lords were very stiff in it, and would not have her out of the realm, but were content your majesty should appoint some knight or gentleman of England, with such English ladies, as should please your majesty to be here about her," as sir George Douglas had told me. And further, they said, "when the marriage was once contracted, and both the realms knit in perfect friendship and familiarity, there was no doubt but the whole realm would, in a little time, fall into your majesty's devotion, and France they would utterly abandon, and might justly so do without offence of the league; and they would not only refuse and annull all their leagues with France, but also they would go with you against France. Hereof," they said, "was no doubt; for all the lords were well inclined in that part, and the whole realm would agree to it, the marriage once accepted of your majesty. And for my part," quoth the earl of Glencairn, "I have but little silver; but if the king's majesty have to do with France, I will go in person, and 5000 good fellows with me, to serve his majesty against France." The earl of Angus affirmed, "that he would do the like, with all the power he could make; and therefore," quoth they, "the marriage must make up all the other purposes." And here they instanced me much, "that I

would give gentle and comfortable words on your majesty's behalf to the governour, who," as they say, "is altogether affected to your majesty; and by him," they say, "they doubt not to work all your majesty's desires in time, by little and little, praying me to bring in no new matters that might alter him from the good trade he was in towards your majesty." I asked them, how they could work all your majesty's desires by him? They said, "he was a very gentle creature, and a simple man, easy to be ruled; so, as when the marriage is agreed, and that your majesty hath that interest, and things here better settled, which yet be not in frame, there is no doubt to have of him what they list. But yet," quoth the earl of Angus, "I am not fully established here; I am but newly restored to my possessions, trusting to be every day more and more able to serve his majesty, as I shall ever be a true Englishman, and faithfully serve the king's majesty, while I live, to the uttermost of my power." I asked them what they had provided for the resistance of the earl of Lennox * and the Frenchmen? They said, "they would resist their landing if they might, and though they got landing at Dumbarton, they should be foughten, and made no doubt but they should put them back, and manfully withstand their malice." I asked them in what case the strong holds were? They said, "Edinburgh and Dunbar, were at the governour's commandment, and Temptallon is in my hands," quoth the earl of Angus. "St Andrews and Dumbarton † be yet withholden, but no doubt they will be at the governour's commandment shortly." After all this discourse, they pressed me again, "That when I came to the governour and the whole council, which," they

* Matthew, fourth earl of Lennox. He had been bred in the armies of France, and was attached to her cause. Yet he afterwards espoused that of Henry, and finally fled into England, where the king bestowed lady Margaret Douglas upon him in marriage. He was the father of Henry lord Darnley. The circumstances, which occasioned his change from the French to the English faction, are detailed in this correspondence.

† The castle of St Andrews was held by the retainers of cardinal Bethune, and the governor of Dumbarton was attached to the earl of Lennox.

told me, "was appointed the same day at afternoon, that I would not innovate any new matter, but that their ambassadors might speedily depart to your majesty, for the treaty of those matters, which they had in charge by the whole authority of the parliament." And I prayed them to consider their promises made to your majesty, and thereupon to foresee, that the ambassadors should go fully instructed in all things to your majesty's contentation; and so we departed. And at afternoon the earl of Glencairn came to me, to accompany me to the governour, and he began to iterate some part of the premisses, whereof we had talked before, wishing that he were with your majesty to declare his opinion in those matters, which he doubted not your majesty would accept. I advised him to put the same in writing, and I would not fail to address it to your majesty with diligence, which he said he would do. "But," quoth he, "I pray you let it not be known to any man," whereof I assured him. And so he hath made a memorial of his mind and opinion in paper; besides that he told me by mouth; which being written with his own hand, and not being legible, he prayed me to write out again, as I have done, and herewith I send both to your highness accordingly. At afternoon I repaired to the governour, with the earl of Glencairn, and at mine access unto him, he used me very gently, and told me, "That he had communicated to the whole council the cause of my repair hither, and prayed me that I would also declare the same unto them, with such farther credence as I had." Which I answered, "I would gladly do." And then I entred with him farther in declaration of your majesty's good mind towards him, and the great zeal and desire that your highness hath to the advancement of such good purposes, as may tend to the weal of this realm, and chiefly to the preservation of your majesty's pronepte; wherein if he, for his part, would shew himself conformable, the same could not but redound much to his honour and singular benefit. He said, "he was wholly your majesty's in all things he might lawfully do, and would be while he lived at your grace's commandment, not offending his duty of allegiance." I prayed him that

such ambassadors as were now ready to go, might be amply instructed in all things to your majesty's contentation; so that your highness might perceive, that all their deeds were correspondent and agreeable to those fair words. "Marry, I pray you," quoth he, "tell unto the council your credence." And therewith he brake out of that matter, and told me, "That he was informed your majesty would send to him, and be a mean for the delivery of the cardinal." I told him that I was assured your majesty would not go about to do him and the realm so much harm and displeasure. "For were he at liberty," quoth I, "he would be governour himself, and not only seek your destruction, but also be the occasion of the universal ruin of this realm, for the love and affection he hath to France. For surely," quoth I, "he is better French than Scottish." "By God," quoth he, "he shall never come out of prison whilst I may have mine own will, except it be to his farther mischief." I allowed the same well, and said, "it were pity but he should receive such reward as his merits did require. Whereto he answered nothing, but pausing a little (as indeed he useth not much talk,) he said, "He would go to the council," and called the earl of Cassils * to keep me company, with whom (being one of the number of those I had to talk with,) I discoursed also of all things, according to mine instructions, and found him well dedicate to your majesty, and of the same mind and opinion that the rest were, which I had communed with before. I shall omit the particulars of the same, which would but lengthen this letter, and was no more in effect than the very same that passed between my lord Somervail and me. As we were talking, sir George Douglas came and told me, "That the governour and the council desired me to take the pain to come

* Gilbert Kennedy, third earl of Cassilis. He had been one of the Solway captives, and was therefore to be reminded of his engagements to Henry. He was made lord high treasurer in 1554, and was one of the commissioners, who went to France, to accomplish the match between Mary and the Dauphin. The earl of Cassilis died at Dieppe on his return, and as bishop Reed, another of the commissioners died on the same night, there were strong suspicions of poison.

to them." He brought me in to the council-chamber, where I found a great number of noblemen and others at a long board, and divers standing, but not one bishop nor priest among them. At the upper end of the board sat the governour, and caused me to sit down by him on the bench, in the first place of all the counsellors there next to himself. And then after a little silence, the earl of Huntley * declared unto me, in fair words, "That the governour there had received by me the king's majesty's letters, wherein was referred unto me some credence, which they desired, if it so liked me, to declare unto them, and the governour himself also desired the same." I answered, "that I would gladly do it, and told them that your majesty had sundry advertisements of the good inclination and conformity, as well of the said governour, as of a great many of them, towards the accomplishment of such purposes, as had been set forth and declared unto them in your majesty's behalf, by such of them as were lately with your majesty, and that thereupon they were now minded to send ambassadors authorised by parliament, to conclude such things as should be to the weal of both the realms, and your majesty's contentation. Wherefore, likeas your majesty no less tendred the surety and preservation of your pronepte, than your own child, and also their particular honours and advancements, with the universal benefit of this realm ; so your majesty had sent me hither to reside among them, as your majesty's commissioner and counsellor, and had commanded me to be ready at all times, and specially now at the dispatch of their ambassadors, to assist them with my poor advice, to the intent they might be dispatched with such ample power and instruction, conceived in such certain and plain terms, as may be correspondent to their fair words, and your highness's expectation ; and therefore, if it should like them

* George Gordon, the fourth earl of Huntley. He was at present one of the privy council, and at heart unfavourable to the English match. In 1546, he became lord high chancellor, and in 1562, was killed in the battle of Corrichie, fighting against the earl of Murray, afterwards regent.

to tell me the specials of such charge as they had given to the said ambassadors, I would accomplish my commission with my poor advice, in such sort as became a good minister, that minded well the perfection of all things tending to the weal of both realms." Whereat, they paused a little, and desired they might consult together, to make me answer. I departed for a while, and was soon called again; and being set down, the said earl of Huntley said, "That they had considered my credence; and whereas your majesty had sent before your letters to the estates of this realm, not knowing then that they had chosen them a governour, with certain purposes procured at that time, by such noblemen as be your majesty's prisoners, they considering the importance of those things, desiring by all means to satisfy your majesty in reasonable sort, had called a parliament, wherein they had used all the haste that might be, for the better and more speedy satisfaction of your majesty; and by the same had authorized their ambassadors to repair to your presence, with ample power to conclude the marriage, and a perpetual peace; and their ambassadors were ready to depart." I answered, "That, like wise men, they had well determined for their own wealth; for nothing could be more honourable nor beneficial unto them than the marriage, with the peace. And I doubted not, but as they had told me the same generally, so they had also specially considered the circumstances belonging to those two points, the marriage, and the peace; wherein being wise men, I was sure they would weigh with whom they had to do, and would the rather instruct their ambassadors in all points, to satisfy your majesty in reason, wherein if they would use my poor advice in declaring of the specials, I should be ready to execute my commission." They said, "Their ambassadors were fully instructed in all things, and had a large commission to conclude such things, as they trusted should please your majesty, which they were all glad and willing to do; and if I had not come on the Sunday, their ambassadors should have been gone this Munday, but they should now make no delay." Whereupon, considering they had no list, as I perceived, to commu-

nicate the same to me, but were resolved to send away their ambassadors to your majesty ; and, again, considering as well the desires and opinions of such as I had the same day before talked with, in such form as is aforesaid, with their requests, that I should press no new matter, as also that the parliament was done here ; so that if I should have entred or begun, as I thought to have motioned them for the custody of the child, we should percase have fallen into a frivolous argument, and the matter nothing helped by me for your majesty's purpose, because I knew they were not minded, nor would agree at this time to the custody of her out of this realm. I thought, therefore, to pass it over in general sort, the rather for that the ambassadors had received their charge, and were ready to depart towards your majesty ; and chiefly, because indeed I have no commission to entreat with the governour and council here upon any special point or matter, otherwise than as they should require mine advice. And so declaring unto them, that I doubted not but they had instructed their ambassadors in special and plain terms, as well for the custody of the child after the contract, (which I touched, even to hear what they would say thereunto,) as also in all other circumstances depending upon the said two points generally reported to me. I gave them mine advice, that unless they would communicate with me the specials of their ambassadors charge, whereupon I might confer with them, and say mine opinion, they should detain no longer their said ambassadors, thinking that else your majesty might note but delay and slackness in them. Whereunto they answered, " That they had used all the diligence in them possible, and would dispatch their ambassadors out of hand, which shall depart this town to-morrow towards your majesty." And so they arose from the board, and I departed from them to my lodging, and began the dispatch of those my letters for signification of all those proceedings accordingly. And within night came the earl Bothwel* unto me, saying, " That he came to visit me, and to

* Patrick Hepburn, the fourth earl of Bothwell, father of James the infamous Bothwell.

offer unto me all the pleasure he could do for me here for your majesty's sake, as," he said, " he was bound, and ought his service only unto your majesty." I gave him thanks accordingly, in as good sort as I could, and thought, seeing he was so come unto me, that I would hear what he would say, as well of his own as of all the others proceedings towards your majesty, and so entred with him a long discourse of the whole. He told me, " That if all men had been as willing when they came home, as they pretended in England, your majesty might have had your purpose ere this time ; but he thinketh, that they will work the same more easily, as indeed he saith it must come to good pass in time. When they were in England," he said, " they were minded, as they outwardly declared, to do many things ; but when they came home, they fell in with the governour, and were clean changed : and for my part," quoth he, " when I saw that, I fell out with the governour for a particular of mine own, and went away, and came no more to them, neither would I have come now to the parliament, but for my lord of Angus's sake, because I promised to him to give him my vote on his great day.* I would not," quoth he, " have come to the governour, who is more meet to be governed than to be a governour, as he is indeed governed by mean personages. And it will be wrong with this realm," quoth he, " if we have not shortly a master or governour, that is able to do for us and direct us ; wherein, for my part," quoth he, " I owe my service to the king's majesty of England, and shall not fail to keep all promises that I have made unto him, as much as in me is, which his grace shall assuredly find true, if it come to service." He told me farther, " How that, when I was with the governour and council here, after I had declared unto them my credence, and drew apart, as is aforesaid, some of them were of opinion, that I should have been made participant to the ambassadors instructions particularly, but the rest would not so, but would have all referred to your majesty." I asked him, " if I might be so bold to

* *i. e.* When he was restored against the forfeiture pronounced by James V.

know who they were that would not have me made privy to them?" He said, "Surely the greater number, as the voices always take place in their councils; he would name no man," he said; "but," quoth he, "I pray God the king's majesty may like our ambassadors instructions well, when they shall come unto him; for I promise you," quoth he, "unless they have some private commission other than I know of, (as indeed," quoth he, "they make me not much of counsel, nor I come not oft amongst them,) they have no authority to conclude with the king's majesty for deliverance of the child into his hands. But," quoth he, "with time there will be no doubt, I think, but his majesty may have her and the whole realm at his pleasure and devotion." This he told me, which I thought to advertise unto your majesty, who can, by your wisdom, judge his meaning in this behalf. Always he is noted here to be of the adversary party to your majesty, and surely he loveth not the governour. When he was gone, came to me again the earl of Glencairn, and brought me the memorial afore mentioned. In the reading whereof, he said, "That, touching the point of having the child into your majesty's hands, though the same would not now be attained, yet being agreed, that your majesty shall appoint certain English and certain Scottish lords to be about her person here, if it please your majesty to appoint him for one, with such another Scottish lord, as is also assured to your majesty," he saith, "your majesty shall be sure to have her into your hands by one way or other, either by consent of the whole realm, or else against their wills; for he will not fail, for his part, to do at all times all that in him lies, to accomplish his promise to your majesty, which, he doubteth not, shall be done in time after your majesty's own desire." This he prayed me to signify unto your majesty. Furthermore, he hath written to your majesty to have his son home, entring other pledges for him; "of whom," he saith, "he hath great lack; specially now, that the earl of Argyle is at distance with him, his said son having the rule of that country under him; and if he were at home, he should stand him in great stead." I assure your majesty I think he feigneth not; for such a man as his

son is, may not well be spared out of so wild a country. I have talked with the man,* being with the earl of Westmoreland; he is called the lord of Kilmawrs and the master of Glencairn; and, in my poor opinion, they be few such Scottish in Scotland, both for his wisdom and learning, and well dedicate to the truth of Christ's word and doctrine. So that, I think, if he were at home, he should not only stand his father in good stead, but also do much good here in the country, where now the gospel is set forth in English, and open proclamations made, "That it shall be lefull to all men to read the Bible and Testament in the mother-tongue," and special charge, "that no man preach to the contrary, upon pain of death."† The lords Maxwell and Fleming were gone hence before my coming, so soon as the parliament was done; neither be any other of your majesty's prisoners here, as far as I can perceive, but such as I have spoken with, as before. The queen-dowager‡ is at Linlithgow, twelve miles hence, so that yet I have not spoken with her, but I intend to-morrow to ride unto her with your majesty's letters, and execute that part of mine instructions; and how I shall find her, I will not fail to advertise your majesty with all diligence. The ambassadors that do repair unto your majesty, are, Sir James Learmonth, Sir William Hamilton, and Mr Henry Balnaves, the secretary§ here, which, departing this town to-morrow, do intend to make all the diligence they can to your majesty, &c.

* Alexander, Lord Kilmauers, was at present a hostage for the sincerity of his father. The acute Sadler discerned the germ of those qualities which afterwards made this nobleman the great promoter of the Reformation, and in consequence a steady adherent of the English interest.

† This privilege was granted to the community of Scotland upon the proposition of Lord Maxwell, late prisoner in England, who probably took this step in compliance with the engagements he had come under to Henry. The proclamation was dated 19th March, 1543.

‡ Mary of Lorrain, widow of James V., afterwards queen-regent.

§ Sir James Learmonth of Darsie, Sir William Hamilton of Sanquhar, and Henry Balnaves of Hall-hill, the Scottish secretary of state. These were all men of talents and consequence, whose names frequently occur in the political transactions of the period.

To the King's Majesty, 23 March, 1543.

Please it your royal majesty to understand, that yesterday I had access to the queen-dowager of Scotland, to whom I delivered your majesty's letters, with your highness's hearty commendations, and declared also my credence unto her, according to mine instructions. I found her most willing and conformable in appearance to your majesty's purpose, for the marriage of her daughter to my lord prince's grace; and also, that your majesty should have her delivered forthwith into your hands and custody, which she confesseth to be for her chief surety, and wisheth with all her heart that it were so. She accounteth herself most bound to your majesty, that it hath pleased the same to determine such honour and advancement to her said daughter. And discoursing with her thereof, the rather to settle her in that part, she said, "The world might justly note her to be the most unnatural and unwise woman that lived, if she should not heartily desire and rejoice of the same; for greater honour and benefit could not be offered unto her, nor she knoweth not throughout the world such a marriage could be found so proper, so beneficial, and so honourable, as this is;" saying, "that she cannot otherwise think but it is the work and ordinance of God, for the conjunction and union of both those realms in one; for she hath had none before but sons, and now it is her chance to bring forth a daughter, for the best purpose she trusteth." *

* Here the subtle Frenchwoman dissembled to Sadler; for was it possible that Mary of Guise should wish her daughter delivered up to Henry, the enemy of France, and rebel to the faith of Rome? Probably, she wished to draw Sadler into some plot for carrying off the young princess, which, on discovery, a circumstance always in the queen's power, would have excited general popular indignation, and indeed the determined hatred of the whole kingdom. Her insincerity is, in some degree, developed by her anxiety for the cardinal's liberty, and her wish to sow dissension between Sadler and the governor. Mary's professions, as reported by the ambassador, seem, notwithstanding, to have imposed upon Henry and his council. See their letter, dated 27th March.

And when she had thus declared her affection in that behalf, with assurance that she would be advised by your majesty in all things, and would walk plainly on a right sort with your majesty, as she said it became her not to dissemble with so noble a prince; and so bade me advertise your majesty, "That the governour, whatsoever pretence or fair weather he made unto your majesty, minded nothing less, than that her daughter should marry into England, and so had himself told her, with this much more, that, for to please your majesty, they would offer unto the same, that there should be a contract made of the marriage, but they would have the custody of the child till she should be of lawful age; by which time, God might dispose his pleasure of your majesty, being already well grown in years; and then they would handle it so, as that contract should serve to no purpose. This," she said, "the governour told her himself, and this was the secret thing that she desired for to have one of your trusty servants to come to her, to the intent she might, by the same, advertise your majesty thereof, because she durst not commit the same neither to French nor Scot." But here she made great instance unto me, "That this might be most secret; for else being in their hands here, as she is straitly looked unto, inso-much that she hath none about her of her own servants, nor one that she may trust, it might be to her great danger." And, to verify the same, she saith, "That the governour and council have determined in their parliament, that your majesty shall not have the child delivered into your hands, for sundry considerations alledged amongst them. One was, that, because she is queen of the realm, it were not meet to have her out of the same, by whose authority and name the governour should use his office, and all things executed for the common wealth of this realm. Another is, that, if she were delivered unto England, she should never die; but if God should call her, they would ever be sure in England to have another to succeed her. And, again, if God should dispose his pleasure of my lord prince's grace, the child being in England, might be married there to some other, contrary to the weal and good of this realm; so that if they should deliver her out of

their hands, your majesty, howsoever the game should go, would dispose the inheritance and crown of this realm at your pleasure:" with many other considerations, as she saith, she gat information. She saith, "Assuredly the governour mindeth to marry her daughter to his son; wherefore," she saith, "if your majesty stand not fast upon that point, to have her delivered into your hands, the marriage will never take effect." And here, she said, "The cardinal, if he were at liberty, might do much good in the same." I told her, I thought the cardinal would rather do hurt, for he had no affection towards England. She said, "He was a wise man, and could better consider the benefit of the realm than all the rest." And ever in her discourse she inculked, "That your majesty should see, they would not deliver the child, nor yet pledges for performance of the marriage." She told me, "That she was sure the governour would now, knowing that I had been with her, come shortly to see her, the rather to know what had passed betwixt her and me. And," quoth she, "when he cometh, I shall (as my custom is) make as though I were not well willing to this marriage; and then," quoth she, "as he is but a simple man, he will tell me his whole intent in that part: and if I should not do so," quoth she, "he would keep himself the more covert and close, and tell me nothing. And what I shall farther perceive by him, how he is disposed in the matter, now upon your coming, if I can find any mean," quoth she, "to speak with you, or send to you, ye shall have knowledge of it." I told her, that knowing the least part of her mind in that behalf, I would make some errand again to see her; which she also desired. And then she told me, "That the governour shewed her, that your majesty had written unto him, how there had been a contract betwixt the earl of Lennox and her." Whereunto she answered, "That the contrary thereof was true; and that now, since she had been a king's wife, her heart was too high to look any lower." I told her, I was sure your majesty had written no such matter to the governour; "but," quoth I, "I remember that such a saying was, that your grace should marry with the earl of Lennox." "By my truth," quoth she, "it is

utterly untrue; for I never minded it. And so," quoth she, "it was a saying, that my father should come here with an army, which likewise is untrue. It may be," quoth she, "that the earl of Lennox came hither, with what power I cannot tell; but sure I am," quoth she, "my father is in Champagne, to prepare the French king's army there against the emperour, as a Frenchman told her, that arrived here lately by sea." After we had discoursed a good while of those things, (in which talk she asked me, "How it stood between your majesty and the French king? and wished, that there should ensue no war nor dissention betwixt you:" wherein I told her, that I knew not but all was well,) I descended to that part of mine instructions, touching the strange demeanour of her servant whom she lately sent unto your majesty, and declared the same unto her in such sort as is contained in my said instructions. She besought your majesty "to conceive no suspicion of her for sending her said servant in such manner into France; whom," she saith, "she commanded to tell your highness of his journey, and humbly to supply unto your majesty for his passport, both to go and return by your majesty; alledging, she was right sorry your majesty should have any cause of suspicion, whereof she protested there was no cause." I told her, your majesty had information of her virtue, wisdom, and experience, to be such, as your highness could not therefore suspect her, but rather doubted not she would apply to that which should be to her honour, and the most surety and benefit of her daughter; which, if she weighed well, she might perceive did chiefly rest in your majesty, and without the same might be in great danger. She confessed the same, and wished to God that she were in your majesty's hands; "for," quoth she, "it hath been seldom seen, that the heir of a realm should be in the custody of him that claimeth the succession of the same, as the governour is now established by parliament the second person of this realm, and, if her daughter fail, looketh to be king of the same. And," quoth she, "he said, that the child was not like to live; but you shall see," quoth she, "whether he saith true or not;" and therewith she caused me to go with her to the cham-

ber where the child was, and shewed her unto me, and also caused the nurse to unwrap her out of her clothes, that I might see her naked. I assure your majesty, it is as goodly a child as I have seen of her age, and as like to live, with the grace of God.

Thus, when I had seen the child, and conferred with the said dowager as is aforesaid, I took my leave, and returned hither to Edinburgh this day; where, as yet, is neither the governour, nor none of the noblemen of Scotland, but are all dispersed, every man at his own house abroad in the country. It is said the governour and many of them will be here this feast. I will do what I can to decipher their meanings towards your majesty; for if it be true that the said dowager saith, surely there is great dissimulation amongst them, specially in the governour, who is also governed chiefly by Sir George Douglas. This same Sir George was appointed to accompany me in this journey towards Linlithgow, with other gentlemen; and after I had spoken with the said dowager, and coming from her, she called the said Sir George unto her; who told me afterwards, "That she had demanded of him, whether the child should be delivered into England or not? praying him to help to the contrary, because she was too young to be carried so far." And so he began to persuade me, "That she was nothing willing, nor conformable, to your majesty's purpose in that behalf." Thus your majesty may perceive, that some juggling there is; which, with the grace of God, a little time shall reveal unto your majesty. And, for my part, if my wit and experience would serve as well as my good will, I should the sooner decipher the same; wherein I shall nevertheless travel as well as I can, according to my most bounden duty.

Before the dispatch of my other letters of the 20th of this month, Sir George Douglas told me, "That the governour and he were about a purpose to remove the cardinal, by his own consent, from the Blackness to his castle of St Andrews, because the same castle, where all the cardinal's goods and money are, is kept from the governour, thinking, by this mean, to have the castle into his hands, and the goods also, and

yet the cardinal to be as surely kept, as he was before at the Blackness; and also the same castle standing on the water-side, they might easily, after he had been there a while, and the house once in their hands, convoy him thence again by water to Temptallon or Dumbar,* which they intended to do. And this purpose," he said, "he would go about forthwith." I advised him to consider the matter well, and debated with him, as I thought, what might follow if he should be set at liberty, thinking that a great bruit and hope thereof would arise, if he should now be restored to his own house. He warranted me, it should be handled well enough, and whatsoever should be hoped for or bruited, he should never be nearer his liberty. And so he went to the cardinal about that purpose; who, at his return, told me, "That he was a wily carle, and would not consent to the matter." So as the said Sir George told me, he had failed of his purpose, and therefore I wrote nothing to your majesty thereof in mine other letters. But sithence, even yesterday at morning, it was told me, "That the cardinal was at liberty in his own house at St Andrews." The said Sir George being then with me, he and I both being ready to ride to Linlithgow, I asked him, whether those news were true? He answered, "By his faith he could not tell; but," he said, "he would soon know:" And told me, "That he had left word with my lord Seton, who hath the guard of the said cardinal, that in case he would agree to the said purpose, he should convoy him to the said castle of St Andrews:" Where indeed he is, and was convoyed thither on Wednesday, in the night. And the said Sir George telleth me, "That he is in as sure prison there, as in any place of Scotland. And yet," he saith, "he shall not tarry thither long; but, assoon as they have the house and goods in their hands, (which now," he saith, "they shall have,) he shall be convoyed to Temptallon." Thus he telleth me. But if the cardinal shall have his liberty, I shall never trust him nor the governour, who said to me, "That, whilst he lived, the cardinal should never have liberty, nor

* Both which fortresses were in possession of the earl of Angus.

come out of prison, unless it were to his farther mischief;" as I wrote in my said letters to your majesty.

The ambassadors have lingred here those two days longer than they were commanded, because (as I am informed) they would here *sumere eucharistiam* before their going; and this day they departed, intending to ly this night at Dumbar, and, as they say, will make as much diligence to your majesty as they may conveniently. Thus Almighty God preserve your royal majesty in long and prosperous estate of health, most feliciously to endure.

Edinburgh, 23d March, at night.

To the King's Majesty, 27th March, 1543.

Please it your royal majesty to understand, that since the arrival here of Mr Drummond, I took mine opportunity to speak with the governour, for the room and office of the secretaryship here, to be employed upon the said Drummond, who, for that purpose, had before delivered your majesty's letters unto the said governour, and the Earl of Angus. And, when I had made request in that behalf, according to my instructions to the said governour, he made me answer, "That he had received your majesty's kind letters for that intent, and was right sorry he might not accomplish the tenor and purport of the same, for that he had already bestowed the said office upon Mr Henry Balnaves, whom he had now sent in ambassage to your majesty, and had given the same for term of his life; so that he could not revoke that grant, nor take it from him so long as he lived, unless he failed in his duty; assuring me, if the office had been ungiven, he would have preferred your majesty's request afore all others." I commended much the wisdom and qualities of the said Drummond; but considering that the office was gone, (which I knew well enough before the arrival here of the said Drummond,) I thought it not best to press the matter over much, when it could not be conveniently obtained. And so the go-

vernour and I entred other matter, which he began himself, and asked me, "How I liked the old queen, and the young queen?" I said, I liked them both well, and praised the young princess, which I said was a very goodly child, and like to live.—(I added that, "that she was like to live," to hear what he would say; because I had heard before, both by the queen-dowager and otherwise, that he was of a contrary opinion.)—He affirmed my saying; and asked me, "How I found the queen disposed towards the marriage?" I said, I had no commission to feel her mind in that part; but, generally, having commandment to visit her, being a noble personage, dowager of the realm, and to make your majesty's most hearty commendations unto her, for the which purpose I brought her your majesty's letters only of commendations; and, as far as I could perceive, I thought she would be well enough content with the marriage, which, I said, if she tendred her own honour, with the advancement and benefit of her daughter, she could not but effectually desire and embrace. He answered, "That, indeed, if she sought the world, she could not find so meet and so honourable a marriage; and that, unless she were unnatural to her daughter, she must needs be content with it; but, being a French woman, he thought she could not be best inclined towards England."

Here I thought to enter somewhat with him in this matter, and said thus unto him: "My lord," quoth I, "I doubt not but ye know and consider, that ye have to do with a noble, wise, and grave prince, that hath great experience of the affairs of the world; and therefore I would wish that ye should proceed with his majesty so sincerely, as he might well perceive ye minded effectually the accomplishment of such things as ye shall now propone, and set forth by your ambassadors; as," quoth I, "ye have now sent them unto his majesty with ample commission, ye say, to conclude the marriage and the peace. But," quoth I, "if ye have not given them instructions also to conclude such things as depend upon those two points, in such sort as it may appear, you do indeed intend both to perform the marriage, and to establish such a peace as might be available to both realms; his ma-

jesty is a prudent and wise prince, and shall right facilely decipher your intent, which not being so perfect as you pretend, might percase justly so irritate his majesty, as great inconvenience may follow. He answered me, "That as he did nothing alone, so the ambassadors had their commission given unto them by the three estates of the realm in parliament, for the conclusion of the said two points, which, for his part, he had earnestly set forth maugre the wills of divers such," he said, "as favoured neither God's word nor your majesty, and be wholly addicted to France. And," quoth he, "if I had not earnestly minded, that the king's majesty should have the marriage of our young queen, I could have had a contract betwixt her and my son passed and established by this parliament; wherein I am sure," quoth he, "no man would have been against me; trusting," quoth he, "that the king's majesty will the rather be friendly to me, for I have had mickle cumber among the kirk-men for his sake." I assured him, "if he proceeded plainly with your majesty, he should perceive, that your majesty would so consider it as should be to his singular commodity." And eftsoons I pressed him, if, as he said, he minded earnestly the marriage, that he would so offer and propone it, as it might so appear to your majesty; for," quoth I, "the offer of a bare contract, without other circumstances, is not sufficient." He said, "That when the ambassadors should be with your majesty, if the same should demand other things of them, than they might conclude, they would advertise hither of the same with diligence; and, upon knowledge of your majesty's pleasure, order should be taken here for the accomplishment of all your majesty's reasonable demands." I said, "this would spend much time." Whereunto he said, "the matters were of so great importance as required time; and," quoth he, "within twenty days we shall hear from these our ambassadors; and thereupon, God willing," quoth he, "we shall soon be at a good point." And then he fell out of this matter, and asked me, "How your majesty did with France?" I said, "all was well, as far as I knew; and that, as I heard, there was an ambassador newly come to your majesty from the French king,

which, I thought, argued they intended not to displease your majesty, when they sent ambassadors to treat." "Well," quoth he, "so we agree; I care not what ye do with France: And for my part," quoth he, "I am noted in France to be a good Englishman; and since the king died, I neither wrote nor sent good word nor bad to the court of France." I told him, "if we joyned firmly together, they must abandon their leagues with France." "If we agree," quoth he, "for my part, I pass little of France; but we must advise well," quoth he, "before we break our leagues with them." I told him, "I thought their leagues with France were not so beneficial for them, as they needed to advise much upon the break of them: And unless they should annul those leagues, I saw not how there could be a perfect peace established betwixt us." He confessed, "they had never gain nor benefit by France, but great cumber, loss, and slaughter, for their sakes: wherefore, as for his part, he was no good Frenchman, so he would agree to reason in all things your majesty should require, with the advice of the estates of the realm." And here he told me, "That so long as the cardinal, being the best Frenchman in Scotland, was in hold, there was the less doubt that France should have any great ado here, or they with France." I said it was a common saying, "That the cardinal should have his whole liberty, and was already restored to a great piece of the same, being at large in his own house." He assured me, "That he was in as sure prison in his own house, and as straitly looked unto as he was before; and that he had removed him thither only for a policy to get the possession of the castle, which now he hath by mean thereof;" assuring me, "that he should be prisoner still whilst he lived: for," quoth he, "were he at liberty, if he might have his purpose, I should surely go to the fire, as, when the king lived," quoth he, "he told him, I was the greatest heretick in the world." I asked him, "if he intended to keep him still prisoner in his own house?" He said, "Yes; for he could not put him in a stronger place in all Scotland." I told him, "I thought so long as he was in his own house, the people would still hope for his delivery; and there-

fore, to take away that hope, he should do best, in my poor opinion, to remove him to Dumbar or Temptallon." "No, no," quoth he, "he is well enough; and, let them hope as they list, I shall be sure he shall never be the nearer his liberty." And then he told me, "That a number of noblemen and gentlemen the late king had got written in a roll, which were all accused of heresy; of the which," he said, "he was the first, and the earl of Cassils, the earl of Glencairn and his son, the earl Marishal, and a great many gentlemen, to the number of eighteen score, because they were all well minded to God's word, which then they durst not avow; but now," quoth he, "I shall do mine endeavour to set forth the glory of God with the assistance of the king's majesty."* Herein I did not only allow his intent, but also did animate and provoke him forward in the same as much as I could devise; which, as far as I could perceive, was very acceptable unto him. And, in the same communication, we had up the bishop of Rome, "whom," he said, "for these five years and days he never took to be any more than a bishop, and that a very evil bishop." Assuring your majesty, I perceive so much by him, that if he could tell how to bring it to pass, he would be well content that this realm left clearly the obedience and devotion of Rome; but he lacketh here good ministers for that purpose; and I see not how the kirk-men here will be ruled for him, which, in my poor opinion, would be loath that those two realms should agree, and both privately work, and will do all they can to empeche the same.

After this communication finished betwixt the governour and me, I took the earl of Angus apart, and entred with him in such sort, as is prescribed unto me by letters from your majesty's council of the 20th of March; to know of him, how he can make the establishment of the governour here by parliament, and his with the others large promises to your majesty stand together; wherewith I assure your ma-

* This story of the roll is told by most of our historians. James rejected the accusation with abhorrence.

jesty, he was much perplexed, and could almost say nothing to it, saving that the same should be nothing prejudicial to your majesty's purpose in time; for with him, and by him, being well dedicate to your majesty, they would work all to your highness's satisfaction by little and little. As first, If it might please your majesty to accept the contract, then they would devise to bring the child into your majesty's hands, whereof he doubteth not; and having her, it must needs follow, that your majesty must also, for her, and in her right, see the realm governed and directed in such sort, as to your majesty should seem most expedient for her surety and profit. Wherein he made a like discourse with me in effect, as I have already signified unto your majesty in my letters of the 20th of this present. And to serve your majesty against all nations, he offereth his body and and whole power to the uttermost he can do; wherein, if I should say my poor opinion, he dissembleth not with your majesty. And where things have not hitherto succeeded according to his promise, I think the default thereof to have been, that either he lacked power to bring it to pass, or else was advised by his brother to stay upon such considerations, as have been alledged in that part; that is, "That all your majesty's purposes might be wrought in time without rigour." I asked him, if he thought the governour minded earnestly the marriage or not? which he assured me he did. I told him, "I wondred much that he being established second person in the realm, having title to the succession of the same, should have the custody of the child, which hath never been seen afore." To that he answered me, "That the three estates of the realm had at this parliament ordained, that eight noblemen and gentlemen of this realm, should have the tuition of her, whereof two should ever be with her, and the governour should take no cure thereof." I communed also at the same instant with sir George Douglas, touching that point of the establishment of the governour by parliament, which I told him in form aforesaid, could not stand with the said promises, and he, for his part, denieth any such

promise to be made by him, alledging, that they which made such promises were not able to perform them. And discoursing with him of the likelyhood of the success of all those matters, wherein I told him plainly, that I think your majesty will assuredly stick to have the child delivered into your hands: He saith, "That if your majesty stick upon that, or any other point, upon advertisement thereof, hither by their ambassadors, he thinketh he shall be addressed to your majesty. Which journey he will gladly take upon him, if he see that his message shall be such as shall be acceptable to your highness, or else," he saith, "he will not come; for," quoth he, "I will not go to my master with an unpleasant message."

This communication ended betwixt us, I departed from the court to my lodging, and had with me the earl of Cassils, and the lord Somervail, with whom I discoursed of the foresaid establishment of the governour, according as I was instructed by the said letters from your majesty's council; which he confessed, "might not very well stand with their promises." And yet they said, "That their promises extend no further, than to charge them with the uttermost of their power, which they have done, and will do, but it lay not in their power to let that establishment." And the lord Somervail for his part said, "He knew not of it till the very time it was proponed in the parliament. And then," he said, "he might have done hurt, but no good; for he might have said nay to it, and so have been suspect, and yet his voice could have taken no place, being so many voices on the other side," which the earl of Cassils affirmed. We entred then into the matter of the marriage, which they all make their foundation, whereby to accomplish all your majesty's purposes in time. I asked them, "if they thought the governour minded earnestly the marriage with your majesty?" And they said, "Yea, undoubtedly." "Why then," quoth I, "if ye mind it, should ye not also agree to deliver the child into the king's majesty's hands?" "Marry," quoth they, we would fain have it so; and we have told them plainly, that unless

his majesty have her delivered unto him, he will never enter, nor conclude the contract, nor yet the peace. And for my part," quoth the earl of Cassils, "I have said plainly, that if they stick to deliver her to his majesty, we must fight in the quarrel with those that we love well." "And surely," quoth he, "there be many noblemen here which now stick much at it; but if they knew his majesty as well as we do, they would never stand against him. But for our part," quoth they, "we be resolved to meet here altogether at such time as we think we shall hear word again from the ambassadors. And then, if we shall perceive that the king's majesty stands upon any reasonable point, that we have promised, we shall do that lies in our powers to satisfy his majesty, and let him be reprov'd that shall fail his promise." This, I assure your majesty, the earl of Cassils spake very frankly, and the lord Somervail affirmed the same. I take them both to be very plain and true gentlemen to your majesty; but I fear their power, as far as I can perceive, accordeth not with their good wills. Once they will serve your majesty to the uttermost they can against all nations, as they have affirmed unto me. And the lord Somervail, as he was going from me, told me in mine ear, "That if your majesty did stand fast upon your purpose, there was no doubt ye should obtain it, for they were not able to maintain the wars against your majesty." There be no more of the lords here, with whom I should communicate this matter; for the earl of Glencairn is gone hence, who dwelleth 60 miles hence. And the lords Maxwell and Fleming, were not here since my coming into the country; so that as yet I spake not with them, nor know not how to speak with them, till they come hither; for the one dwelleth above 50 miles hence one way, and the other 40 miles another way. I shewed the earl of Angus, and sir George Douglas, what the sheriff of Air said, touching the earl of Lennox his repairing hither, whom, they say, "they will withstand, and wish that he may be met withall on the sea, by some of your majesty's ships, which," they say, "would be very acceptable to the governor." I have communed also with the earls of Huntley and Murray;

but as to the earl of Argyle, he came not here since mine arrival. I find them both of perfect inclination towards the marriage, and establishment of a perpetual peace ; but entring with them of myself by way of communication, to feel what conditions they would offer for the conclusion of those two points, they told me, “ Your majesty should have a contract offered to be made betwixt my lord prince’s grace your son, and their princess, which,” they said, “ should be an easy conquest of this realm to your majesty ; and such a conquest, as being so had by a rightful mean and title, shall be acceptable to the whole realm.” I told them, “ if they minded earnestly the accomplishment of the marriage, they would offer it in such sort, as their earnest intent in that matter might appear to your majesty.” They said, “ Your majesty should perceive they minded it effectually ; for as it became them not to dissemble with your majesty ; so knowing your majesty’s wisdom and experience,” they say, “ your highness could soon perceive them, which could not be but to their great lack and dishonour. And look what reasonable conditions your majesty would demand for the security of their offers, they would for their part accomplish the same.” I said I feared nothing, but they would take nothing for reasonable, but that which they thought reason. And here I perswaded them by such good means, as my poor wit could devise, to apply to such good purposes as your majesty intended to set forth, for the weal and benefit of both realms. “ Whereto,” they said, “ they would be conformable in all reason.” But I cannot see, that they will hastily condescend to the delivery of the child out of the realm. They say, “ There may be indifferent devices to satisfy your majesty.” And as for their leagues with France, I perceive by them, that the marriage once agreed upon, they will not stick in that matter : wherein I found the earl of Huntley, who is a jolly young man, and of a right good wit, far more frank than the earl of Murray ; for he is a great beads-man, and noted here to be a good Papist, wholly given to the old ceremonies and traditions of Rome. Nevertheless, he said, “ That the marriage agreed, they would not pass much upon

France." But the earl of Huntley said plainly, "That those things being once well established between those realms, he would serve your majesty in the wars against France; and his intent is, that peace and unity succeeding, to see your majesty before Christmass, which," he said, "he longed most for." And also I have communed with the earl Marishal, * who is a goodly young gentleman, well given to your majesty, as I take him; but yet I find him not well willing to have the child delivered out of the realm, till she be of lawful age; wherein, as I do perceive, they have all one opinion, "That if she were once in your majesty's hands, howsoever the game should go, your highness," they say, "would dispose the crown of this realm;" the title and freedom whereof methinks they be wholly bent to maintain, not willing to have the same subject to England, till, by the consummation of the marriage, God shall unite and conjoin both realms in one dominion. But for France, the said earl Marishal told me, "That the earl Cassils and he had given hands, the one to the other, to go together in your majesty's service against France, if your highness would command them.

Thus have I signified unto your royal majesty such discourses and communications as I have had with those noblemen here; wherein if I have not used such dexterity and circumspection as were requisite, I most humbly beseech your majesty, of your clemency and most benign nature, to bear with mine insufficiency in that behalf. And as I am most bound, I shall daily pray for the preservation of your most noble and royal person in prosperous estate of health to live, and most felicitously to reign over us the years of Nestor.

Edinburgh, the 27th March.

* William, fourth earl Marischal. He succeeded to his grandfather about 1531, and was friendly to the Reformation. He stood neuter during the civil wars of Queen Mary; and having shut himself up in his castle of Dunnotar, obtained the name of William in the Tower. He died about 1581.

*To Sir RALPH SADLER, 27th March, 1543. **

MR SADLER,

After our right hearty commendations, ye shall understand, that the king's majesty considering your last advertisements of your discourse with the queen, noteth in you much diligence, wisdom, and discretion, in your proceedings and service there, and giveth unto you his hearty thanks therefore. In the queen, considering the circumstances of her reasons, fashions, and behaviour to you, with the manner of her entertainment, the king's majesty judgeth to be a frank and plain manner of proceeding, such as motherly love to the surety of her child should of reason easily perswade her. In the rest, the king's majesty is in a marvellous perplexity what to say of them, being their deeds so repugnant to that the queen saith, with the strange fashion of removing of the cardinal, so denied at one time, doubted of afterward, and then granted by sir George Douglas, as ye wrote; which knowledge of their proceedings, the king's majesty will use to his benefit as much as may be, and requireth you to repair eftsoons to the queen, and renewing your discourse with her, of the conveyance of her daughter hither, and shewing yourself desirous to be a minister in the same, to know of her what lords of Scotland she thinketh would be well willing, aidant, and assisting, to bring that purpose to pass, to the intent, upon knowledge of them, you may take opportunity to speak and commune with them thereof, and so feel their minds in that behalf. And as ye shall get knowledge of the queen what those personages be, the king's majesty's pleasure is, ye shall use your dexterity and wisdom to break the matter unto those lords, or so many of them as may of likelihood be trusted in that matter, alluring them with promises and re-

* The violence and impatience of Henry's temper, may be clearly traced in the two letters which follow.

wards to the king's majesty's purpose, as you shall think requisite ; and what ye shall do therein to signify with diligence. Advertising in the mean time sir George Douglas, and such of that band as shall repair unto you, that the king's majesty (which is also most true) causeth such preparations of force and power to be made on the borders, as in case these promises, gentle handling, and reasonable communication, take not effect, the king's majesty may use his own princely power and strength. And this, ye may say, is written unto you, which as it is true, so may you shew it unto them written, if they require it.

From the King's Majesty of England to Sir RALPH SADLER, 30th March, 1543.

Trusty and right well beloved, we greet you well : Letting you wit, that we have received your letters, and well considered the contents of the same. For answer whereunto, ye shall understand our pleasure and commandment is, that upon the sight hereof, ye shall take your opportunity to speak with the earls of Angus and Glencairn, the lord Maxwell and sir George Douglas : And to those four ye shall declare, that we have given you in commandment to signify unto them, that considering with ourself the estate of their things there, with the particular proceedings of them, and of all the rest, which be obliged to do us service ; we find so great difference between words and deeds, as enforceth us to conceive and think, that they little or nothing regard the advancement of our purpose, nor the goodness which we have extended towards them ; which hath so plainly appeared unto us, since their entry into Scotland by all their proceedings, as unless it be very shortly and substantially redoubled with deeds, and not with words ; we purpose no longer to be deceived with fair words, and vain hope of things to come at length, but presently to follow our enterprize as to our honour appertaineth : And to the intent they may the better know that we forget not what they have promised, and how contrary

their doings be to the same, you shall remember unto them, that, First, Where they promised to give unto us due and faithful advertisements, from time to time, of all their proceedings in Scotland, and what they should, from time to time, find themselves able to do; who were sure to their party for our purpose, and who were letts to the same, with their advices what should be expedient to be done, from time to time, for the advancement of our enterprize, and for removing of all the impediments and obstacles against it; they never gave us any manner of advertisement of any effect, till now of late, that they were by our admiral, and by you at your coming, provoked and pricked unto it; and how their advertisements answer to the points of their promises, they know best themselves.

Secondly, Where they promised to work nothing without our advice and counsel, ye may declare unto them, that we, esteeming them our good servants, have given them our advice in sundry things and occurrences, which we judged might in any wise touch them; but as for their part, they have been so strange unto us, that we never received a letter from any of them, expressing any particular of the things done, or like to be done, whereupon we might give them our advice in any time convenient. But when things have been determined after their fantasy, then we hear a little of them covertly, rather as it were to make fair weather with us, than indeed to satisfy any piece of that which they had promised, or that might in any wise advance our purpose. And to touch one thing specially, we could never yet hear from them, what special things they had to lay against the cardinal when they took him; whom, albeit the governour himself, and some of them, have written and said many times precisely, "That he should never be delivered, but to his farther displeasure;" yet, as we hear, he is now at home in his own house, and at liberty.

Thirdly, Ye shall tell them, that we marvel most of all at their proceedings in their parliament, wherein they seem to have provided by a special law, that we shall not have our purpose in the government of that realm, having established him governour and second person of

the realm by the said parliament whom some of them have reputed so unmeet to have government; as they know themselves best how largely they have spoken in that behalf, and whether this doth agree with their promises or no, let themselves consider. Once this it importeth certainly, that they cared not what they granted, nor what they omitted, so that they might serve their own purpose. Wherefore, ye shall, on our behalf, advise them, as men whom we would be loath to lose, if by any good mean we can retain them, to weigh those matters as they ought to do: And if their ambassadors be not instructed to the purpose, let them procure that it may be out of hand supplied that wanteth. For you may say, and assure them, that we will no longer tolerate the matter, but, either by one way or other, bring it to some better conclusion. And you may say, though none of them have proceeded so frankly with us as appertaineth, yet we know somewhat of the manner of all the doings of Scotland; what combination was made by oath by the earls of Argyle, Huntley, Bothwel, and Murray, with diverse bishops, both for the delivery of the cardinal by force, if it could not otherwise have been compassed, and for the destruction of the governour, the earl of Angus, and some other, which they yet purpose, though the earl of Huntley go now about to make a colour of alliance betwixt him and the governour by marriage, thereby to insinuate himself that he may know their counsels; which matter is of no small importance, and not to be lightly disclosed, but secretly searched for, and prevented by wisdom. And here you may remember them, how much they owe, and be bound to us, all the premisses notwithstanding, that it pleaseth us thus frankly to give them monition and warning of such extreme dangers as be towards them, advising them again even frankly, and like true gentlemen, without any farther tract of time, to do that thing that may be to our satisfaction: And what they shall answer and determine to do hereupon, and how they shall indeed proceed, ye shall advertise us with diligence,* &c.

* The violent expostulations here enjoined must have had the natural effect of disgusting those of the noble captives who remained attached to Henry's cause, and alienating such as were wavering. Sadler, accordingly, hesitates at delivering these reproaches.

*To the Lords, and others of his Majesty's Privy Council, 31st March,
1543.**

It may like your good lordships to understand, that on Thursday night late I received your letters of the 20th of this month, touching, among other things, the removing of the cardinal here from the Blackness to the castle of St Andrews, which, as appeareth by your lordships said letters, the king's majesty would have by some mean impeached : and albeit (as I doubt not his majesty hath by letters or this time perceived) the said cardinal is already removed to his said castle, so as your said letters came too late for the stay or impeachment of the said purpose, yet I thought it not amiss to talk somewhat of the matter with sir George Douglas, whom I sent for to come and speak with me, as he did accordingly. And then discoursing with him thereof, according to the king's majesty's pleasure, expressed in your said letters, with further allegation of mine own part, that I heard credibly reported, "that the said cardinal was at liberty," (as indeed all the town here bruited the same,) and a chaplain of the same cardinal's came to a priest, that keepeth the house where I ly here, and told him, "that he had a message to me from the cardinal ;" which, because for fear of suspicion he durst not himself come to me, he prayed the said priest to declare, being in effect, "that the cardinal had him very heartily commended to me, and had now obtained his liberty ; wherefore he would be glad to welcome me into the country, offering his lawful service unto the king's majesty ; and whatsoever stead or pleasure he might do me in those parts, he was ready and most willing to accomplish the same." Whereby I told the said sir George, "that not a little to my marvel, considering how largely the governour had said

* This letter seems to relate to some dark intrigue for securing the person of the cardinal in some fortress of the Douglasses, or perhaps for conveying him to England.

to me in that part, I perceived the cardinal was now at liberty." The said sir George, seeming to be in a great heat, told me, "that the governour was the most wavering and unstable person in the world, and the soonest would be altered and changed with every man's flattery and fair speech; as," quoth he, "the earl of Huntley, who is the falsest and wiliest young man in the world, hath found the means to get such credit with the governour, as he had not only perswaded him to remove the queen and the princess to Stirling, but also, that the cardinal should have more liberty now in his own house than he had before at Blackness; that he might go abroad to the church, and elsewhere about his house, at his pleasure; intending," quoth he, "to set him clearly at liberty, and, in fine, to work the governour's overthrow and utter confusion. But," quoth he, "I have changed the whole purpose; and have said my mind at large to the said earl, with whom I have fallen out so far, that now there is great sute and mean made by him to make us friends again." And here he chafed much against him, reproving greatly his wiliness (as he called it) and subtilty. I advised him to have sure regard to the said earl, and such other as were of his party; and told him, how the king's majesty commanded me, on his highness's behalf, to advise to look well to them, lest percase they might take their opportunity to lift him out of favour and authority, which he should not be able to recover again. He most humbly thanked the king's majesty for that advice, and said, "that he would provide well enough for that matter." I asked him, "in what case the cardinal was?" He said, "he was prisoner in his own house, but he was in doubt whether he was as straitly kept as before; for," quoth he, "the letters were made ready to be signed by the governour for his enlargement, in such sort as is aforesaid, which I did tear in pieces, and went to the governour, with one of the pieces in my hands, to whom," quoth he, "I declared my mind plainly, and put him in remembrance how largely he had spoken to you touching the sure custody and imprisonment of the said cardinal; which, if he should now so soon digress and vary from, I told him," quoth he, "that you being

here a wise man, would soon perceive him, and would advertise the king your master of it, who would note much untruth and lightness in him : and with such like words," quoth he, " I changed him again clearly from that purpose. And now," quoth he, " I will go to him, and tell him what the king's majesty hath written to you in that behalf, trusting to bring you good answer. But," quoth he, " it shall not be best to speak any word of the conveying of the said cardinal into England ; for I know," quoth he, " that the governour will not favour it, and it shall but engender suspicion in him." I told him, " there could be no cause of suspicion to be conceived in that part." He said, " the governour was so suspicious, as where no cause is at all, yet he will suspect." So that I could not persuade him that it was good to make any motion thereof. Wherein, nevertheless, I shall not fail myself to essay the governour at my next speaking with him. I asked also the said sir George, " whether the purpose of the dowager and the young queen's removing to Stirling was stayed?" " Which," he said, " he had stayed, with the good contentation of the governour and the whole council." And forasmuch as I had received a letter from the said dowager, (which ye shall receive here inclosed,) containing only credence to be given to the bearer; which credence was, " That having certain matter to communicate with me, which she would not commit to writing, she desired me to take some opportunity to come to Linlithgow and speak with her ; and if I could conveniently, I should not bring with me such persons as did accompany me thither the last time of my being with her ; which were, the lord Methven, the lord Ochiltrie, sir George Douglas, and James Stewart, appointed thereto by the governour. Whereupon I resolved and sent her answer. that I would not fail to accomplish the same assoon as I might conveniently. I thought best, therefore, to require the said sir George (whom, nevertheless, I would not make privy to the matter, nor to her said desire) to tell the governour, that, by his licence, I would eftsoons go see the said dowager, with whom I had a little matter to confer of, which I had omitted at my last being with her. He

told me, "it would like the governour well enough, and though he would conceive some suspicion thereof, nevertheless he would move him of it, and bring me answer again, as well of that as of the rest touching the cardinal."

At night he came to me, and told me, "That if the governour had known the king's pleasure in time, the cardinal should not have been removed, nevertheless he shall be kept surely where he is; and the Lord Seton * is bound to him in life and lands for the sure custody of the said cardinal: But as for the removing of him from St Andrews, now since he is there, he thinketh it not meet to be hastily done, intending to send thither this day the laird of Grange, † treasurer here, to see how the said cardinal is kept, and to take order for his sure guard and custody; so that," as the said Sir George telleth me, "he shall be in as sure and strong prison, and as straitly kept in his own house, as if he were in any other strong hold within Scotland, and hereafter may be removed to Dunbar or Temptallon, as the case shall require." And touching my desire to go to the queen-dowager here at Linlithgow, he told me, "That the governour had appointed to send this day to her the earl of Huntley, and the said sir George, to the intent, that the same earl who had been the procurer, and had also obtained that she should remove with her daughter to Stirling, should now himself, on the behalf of the governour and council here, declare to her the reason and cause of the stay and impeachment of the same; and the said Sir George specially appointed to go with him, to hear that he do his message justly in that behalf. Wherefore the governour desired me to put off my journey till their return, at which time I should know when she would appoint me to come to her presence, which I might accomplish at my pleasure accordingly." Also the said sir George told me, "That the said earl of Huntley and he

* George, fifth Lord Seton, who died in 1545. He had assented to the English match; but, being a rigid Catholic, was probably disposed to retract as soon as possible.

† Sir William Kirkaldy, the gallant laird of Grange, a friend to the English interest, and an enemy to the cardinal, in whose death he was an accomplice.

were made friends again, and that the said earl had made him large promises of friendship." Whereupon he and I entring farther in communication of the state of things here, and of the likelihood of the success of the king's majesty's purposes, he told me, "That he perceived the noblemen here hoped there should be some business between the king's majesty and France, which, they thought, would be a mean to cause his majesty agree with them upon the more easy conditions." And, therefore, the said sir George prayed me to signify, "That his poor advice was, that it may please the king's majesty to keep in with France, until his highness be at a full point and conclusion with those men; whereby," he saith, "his grace shall make his bargain much the easier." Finally, he told me, "That the governour was very sorry that I had no better cheer nor entertainment here, trusting I would ascribe the same to their business; and that the said governour desired me heartily to take the pain to dine with him to-morrow;" which I have promised to do. And then will I take mine opportunity with him, to feel him thoroughly touching the cardinal, and see how he can be content to accomplish the king's majesty's desire, for convoying the said cardinal into England, whereof I shall advertise with such diligence as appertaineth. And thus, &c.

To the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, 1st April, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that this day I dined with the governour, who made me great cheer and good countenance, and all dinner-while held purpose with me against the abuses of the church, the reformation whereof he most earnestly pretendeth; and desired me to write into England for some books of the New Testament and Bible in English, and also the statutes and injunctions made by the king's majesty for the reformation of the clergy, and extirpation of the bishop of Rome, which I promised him I would do: And if it may please your lordships to take order for the accomplishment of his de-

aire in that part, surely it shall be very acceptable unto him. After dinner I thought to feel him thoroughly, what he intended towards the cardinal, as I wrote to your lordships in my last letters; and entring with him in that behalf, I told him, that the king's majesty hearing afore the cardinal's removing, that he should be removed from the Blackness to the castle of St Andrews, only of intent thereby to get entry into the same castle, had commanded me to solicit with him the impeachment of that purpose, thinking that where they mean that way to win the said castle, it is the most ready way that can be devised both to lose the castle and him also, being the same is set in such a place, as they be not able to keep it, if his friends will the contrary; and, being there, he might have the better opportunity, with the aid of France, and clergy of Scotland depending upon him, to work, (as he will to his possible power,) to overthrow all their purposes, specially the state of his government, and matters of reformation of the clergy, which I told the said governour should be more than necessary for him to foresee. And therefore I told him, albeit the cardinal was thus removed, before I received the said commandment from the king's majesty; yet it was my duty to declare unto him his majesty's opinion in that part, whereby he might perceive his highness's good affection towards him, and the advancement of his honour and surety, giving him my poor advice, not to suffer the said cardinal to remain at St Andrews. He answered me, "That if he had known the king's pleasure in time, he would have been ruled by his advice; and yet he said it was the nearest way for him to come by the castle, which now he hath in hands, and the cardinal there, in the custody of the lord Seton, as straitly kept as he was before; for the which the same lord Seton was bound in his life and inheritance." And much he thanked the king's majesty, "That it pleased the same so to tender his estate, as to give him such advice and monition of the said cardinal's intent, who," he said, "he was sure would work him no less cumber, than I told him on the king's behalf, if he were at liberty;" assuring me, "that he should never come out of prison whilst he lived," as he hath done sun-

dry times before. I told him, that as long as he was in his own castle, such as depended upon him, (which, I thought, were a great number,) being win unto him by money and rewards, besides the whole clergy, would ever hope for his delivery, and do depend and stay thereupon, who, if that hope were taken away, would quietly conform themselves to reason. He said, "If the peace were once established, he doubted not to bring all this realm to good quietness, and was sure there was no man in Scotland that depended so much upon the cardinal, as would offend him, or refuse quietly to agree to reason; and let them hope what they would, he should have sure regard to the keeping of the cardinal." I advised him yet to consider, how much the more easily such as do hope for his delivery, and depend upon him, would be induced to reason and conformity, if that hope were once taken away. And therefore I said, he could do no better than to send the said cardinal into England, where he should be in such surety, as he should not need to doubt his practices, and thereby all hope of his delivery should be avoided. Hereat he laughed, and said, "The cardinal had lever go into hell. And," quoth he, "it would be thought strange if I should send him into England, as who should say," quoth he, "we were not able to punish his fault here. But I assure you," quoth he, "he shall be as surely kept here, as if he were in England." I told him, I thought it not convenient he should remain where he was, for the considerations afore rehearsed. Nevertheless, whatsoever I alledged in that part, I could not remove him from that opinion, but that he was, and should be as surely kept, and to as good purpose, where he was at St Andrews, as in any other place; assuring your lordships, that unless he be the greatest dissembler that ever was, he mindeth to hold surely the cardinal in prison. And I have learned since his removing to St Andrews, that the cause thereof was not only to have the castle into the governour's hands, but also that indeed it should be noted and bruited he was at liberty, to the intent the priests throughout this realm, which before were at such a stay, as they would neither minister sacraments nor say mass, might hereupon the rather now at

this feast of Easter, in quiet manner he induced to execute and do the same accordingly; which the governour hath also confessed unto me.

After the governour and I had talked of this matter, I told him that I intended, by his licence, to go visit the queen-dowager, as I had before sent him word by sir George Douglas. Whereto he answered me, "That I should find her in end (whatsoever she pretendeth) a right French woman." And then he told me, "That Mr Drummond had shewed him, on the king's majesty's behalf, how that she had sent word to his majesty by one of her servants, that he intended to marry the young queen here to his son;" wherein he sware a great oath, no less than by the wounds of God, "that she belied him, and that she had advertised his majesty so, only to bring him in suspicion with his majesty. For," quoth he, "if I were so minded, I could easily work it; as I am sure," quoth he, "not a nobleman in Scotland could nor would be against me in it. And, indeed," quoth he, "before the marriage was proponed for the prince of England, I thought no less than to have married her to my son, and communed with the queen here in that behalf, and found her both willing and conformable: But," quoth he, "after the home-coming of the prisoners, who proponed the marriage for England, I did consider it to be so beneficial to the common-wealth of the realm, that I did not only agree to it, but with all my power advance and set it forth; and so God help me, as I do effectually mind it." Here, as I have done at other times afore, I pressed him so to proceed with the king's majesty, as it might appear he did earnestly mind it; "which," he said, "he would do." And still he shewed himself to be moved with the queen, for the cause aforesaid, saying, "She studied nothing more than to set the king's majesty and him at pick; and so to keep both realms from unity and agreement, the rather because this realm should still adhere and depend upon France. This," he saith, "is her only device; which," quoth he, "as she is both subtle and wily, so she hath a vengeable engine and wit to work her pur-

pose. And still she laboureth," quoth he, "by all means she can, to have the cardinal at liberty; by whom, being as good a French-man as she is a French-woman, she might the rather compass her intent." Thus the governour told me, almost word by word as I write it to your lordships, so that I cannot tell which of them to trust, but refer the same to your wisdoms; and by the ambassador's proceedings with you, ye shall perceive the whole, which a little time shall reveal: for my part, as much as I can, I will bend my poor wit, and spare no labour to decipher them, and from time to time, whilst I am here, shall write and advertise what I see and hear worth writing.

Assoon as I was departed from the governour, I received your lordships letters of the 27th of March; whereby I do perceive how the king's majesty judgeth in the queen a frank and plain manner of proceeding, wherein also I was fully perswaded upon my last conference with her; and yet think it can be no otherwise, intending to-morrow to repair unto her, wherein she is at Linlithgow, (the governour being well content that I should so do); and, at mine access unto her, when I have heard what she will say unto me first, because she hath sent for me, I shall then so accomplish my charge, committed unto me by your said letters, as she shall have nothing of me, whereby she may take any advantage, if she be not so sincerely minded towards the king's majesty as she pretendeth; and as I proceed with her, with such matter as she shall declare unto me, and how I find her, I shall not fail to advertise your lordships with all diligence. The rest of your said letters, touching the king's majesty's preparations on the borders, I shall declare likewise to sir George Douglas, and such of that band (whereof there is no more here, at this time, but he and the earl of Angus, his brother) as shall repair unto me accordingly. And thus, &c.

To the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, 2d April, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that as I wrote yesterday to your lordships, that I intended this day to ride to Linlithgow, so have I been there with the queen, whom I find in the same terms I left her at my first being with her. She told me, "that she sent for me, to declare unto me, how the governour had been with her, and what he said unto her, and also to know of me, how I found the said governour and all the lords inclined to the king's majesty, and the accomplishment of the marriage betwixt my lord prince's grace and her daughter: And first," she said, "she could perceive none other in the governour, but that he minded not the said marriage, intending rather to take this time to marry her to his son; assuring me, that he said unto her at his last being with her, that he would rather die than deliver the child into the king's hands; and that he would nevertheless give good words, and make fair weather to get peace by that means, till better opportunity should serve to the execution of his purpose: as," she saith, "also he prayed her to give me good words, saying, I was an haughty fellow;" wherein I trust I should have testimony, if need were, that he mistaketh me. And then she required me to tell her, how I found him and the lords inclined? I said, "I found them well given and affectionate to the marriage, and much desirous of the peace." "Yea," quoth she, "but I am sure ye see not in them that they will, or intend to deliver the child into the king's hands." I told her, I could not tell what they would do, but they give good words, and say, "they doubted not to satisfy his majesty in that behalf with reason." "Yea," quoth she, "peradventure the governour will offer one of his sons in pledge for performance of the marriage, as," quoth she, "I have heard partly of it; but that is not sufficient, for he hath moe sons nor one, and it is like enough that, for a kingdom, he will be content to lose one of them. Beside that," quoth she, "I hear say, they can be

content that the king's majesty shall appoint a certain number of Englishmen and ladies to be here about the person of the young queen for her better safeguard and surety. But what is that to the purpose?" quoth she, "the king shall never the sooner recover her into his hands, if they here list to vary from their covenants. And therefore," quoth she, "I doubt not but his majesty, being a wise prince, hath had such experience of practices in the world, and of fair words, that he will not trust to words. At the least," quoth she, "if they will not deliver the child into his hands, I would wish he should take sufficient pledges for the performance of the marriage, and also establish such a guard of English personages about her person, as would look well to her surety;" for else," quoth she, "whatsoever they say or promise, they will never observe nor perform the marriage." I assured her, that the king's majesty proceeded plainly, and directed all his purposes to the preservation of her daughter and the wealth of this realm; and in case they here should go about to abuse his clemency in that part, they might be sure, that as his majesty used them gently, and went about to win them in that sort to his devotion and godly purpose, tending chiefly to their benefit; so his majesty was always ready to use his force and princely power to bring them to reason, and would not fail, in that case, to execute the same. She told me, "that she thought assuredly all, or the most part, of the noblemen could be contented that the marriage with my lord prince's grace should take effect, but undoubtedly the governour did rather mind it to his own son. And greatly," she said, "she feared the surety of the child; for she heard so many tales, that the governour would convoy her to a strong house of his own, where she should be altogether in his hands, or into the isles." So that (as I perceive) she is in fear of her destruction, and I therefore wished her in England, which the queen also wished for her part, saying, "she should be then in her friends hands, out of all danger."*

* The reader will probably be of opinion, that the wily dowager wished to push the English monarch upon insisting for the instant custody of the infant queen's person; to

And here I thought to take occasion to enter with her, according to the contents of your lordships last letters, and told her, "that the king's majesty, upon my advertisement of such conference as I had with her, had conceived a good opinion of her, and that she used towards his majesty a frank and plain manner of proceeding, such as motherly love to the surety of her child should of reason persuade her: And therefore," quoth I, "if ye will provide for her surety, it shall be well done, that ye devise some means to bring her to his majesty's hands." And then I asked her, "whether she thought not herself assured of some noblemen of this realm which minded effectually this marriage, and could be as well contented as she to deliver the child into his majesty's hands?" She told me, "she knew none of their minds in that behalf; but if any would be conformable to the same, she thought the lord Maxwell was chiefly to be trusted, and also she supposed the lord Fleming was good; but she knew neither of their affections in that behalf assuredly." The cardinal she much commended, "who," she said, "would have been a good minister to the king's majesty in the perfection of this matter;" which, I told her, could not enter into my creed. She still affirmed it, saying "that if he were at liberty, she thought he would go into England to offer his service to the king's majesty, and that he had so sent her word." I asked her, what she thought of the earl of Glencairn and Cassils? "By my truth," quoth she, "I know not what they will do; but surely," quoth she, "both they, and a great many more, had lever the king's majesty had the government of this realm, than he that is governour who," quoth she, "is assuredly a simple and the most inconstant man in the world; for whatsoever he determineth to-day, he changeth to-morrow." I demanded also of her, what she thought in that part of the earl of Angus? She answered, "he was, as she took him, assured to the king's majesty, in whatsoever his highness should commit unto

which condition, she was well aware, the Scottish governor and his counsellors, however desirous to oblige Henry in other respects, neither would nor durst consent.

him; but she thought him of no policy or engine, (as she called it,) and that he was altogether directed by his brother sir George, who," she said, "was as wily and crafty a man as any was in all Scotland." Finally, I could not perceive by her, that she knew so much any of the lords affections here, that she might plainly affirm which of them minded earnestly the delivery of the child into the king's majesty's hands; so that I cannot see with whom I might practise that matter, according to your said letters; but when I shall speak with the lord Maxwel, who, they say, will be here to-morrow, I shall afar off essay him how he is minded in that behalf. Other communication of effect I had not with the queen; but, at my departing from her, she desired me, "to give good ear, and hearken if any thing were devised by the governour, that should not tend to the surety of her daughter and the advancement of the marriage, that I would speedily advertise the king's majesty of it; and if she heard or perceived any thing that were meet to be signified to his majesty, she would send for me to come and speak with her, to the intent to make me privy to the same; requiring me to take the pain to come to her, when she should send for me;" which I promised to do, and so departed.

Now your lordships have heard what opinion she hath of the governour, who, she saith, dissembleth altogether with the king's majesty; and, on the other side, your lordships have likewise perceived by my last letters what he saith of her; so that I cannot certainly judge whether of them is best to be trusted; and yet it may be that they mean well enough on both sides towards the accomplishment of the marriage. For the governour denieth not but that he once minded the same for his own son; "from the which," he saith, "in respect of the commonwealth, he is now clearly removed." And the queen, not only supposing that he is still of that mind, but also, as I take her, earnestly desiring the marriage of her said daughter to my lord prince's grace, doth so much inveigh against the said governour, the rather to move the king's majesty effectually to work with him, and to stand fast upon such conditions as may serve to the sure and perfect accomplishment

of the said marriage, which else percase she feareth should take no effect. This is my conjecture, as I love to judge the best; but I will have better experience of the fidelity and truth of Frenchmen and Scottish than I have had yet, before I will presume to give any certain judgment of their intent. Your lordships shall now see the plat of those mens purposes at the arrival of their ambassadors; and, as I shall perceive here, I will advertise with such diligence as the cause shall require.

I had forgotten in my last letters to signify unto you, that the governour desired me to write to the king's majesty, that it might please the same to send home the abbot of Paisley, being his bastard-brother, who, he saith, "might stand him in great stead here;" and some think he will make him bishop of St Andrews; which it may like your good lordships to declare unto his majesty accordingly. And thus, &c.

To the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, 4th April, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that yesterday, in the morning, came hither to me in my lodging the lord Maxwel, * whom I had not seen afore since my coming hither; and, after we had used accustomed words of salutation, I began to enter with him frankly, that methought things had not succeeded in such sort as he and others had largely promised, at their being with the king's majesty. He answered me even frankly again, "That he saw not but all might succeed as his majesty would, if it might please him to prosecute the same, in case by fair and gentle means (which nevertheless," he said, "was the best and most godly way) the same could not be obtained. And for his part," he said, "he was driven to a narrow point; for both he

* Herbert, fifth lord Maxwell, a nobleman of great influence on the western marches. He was taken at the battle of Solway; which, indeed, was lost chiefly owing to the confusion occasioned in the Scottish army, by hearing Oliver Sinclair proclaimed general instead of Maxwell. He died in 1546.

was suspected here, and yet he had done the king's majesty no service, which grieved him most. But," quoth he, "if the king's majesty do prosecute his purpose, I will do him service according to my promise, or else let me be reprov'd." I told him, it was every nobleman's part to perform and keep promise; "and yet," quoth I, "my lord, to be plain with you, I cannot perceive that either ye, or any of you all that were with the king's majesty, have hitherto had such regard to the observation of your words and promises as appertained to men of your sort. For," quoth I, "neither have ye, since your coming out of England, advertised the king's majesty of any part of your proceedings, nor yet have ye, as far as I see," quoth I, "gone about seriously in your said promise to accomplish the same, but rather, directly contrary thereto, ye made and established here a governour by parliament, which, if ye weigh it well, standeth not with your promise. And now," quoth I, "ye have sent ambassadors instructed, as I understand, to conclude a bare contract of a marriage betwixt my lord prince's grace and your young queen here, with also a general peace: But I assure you," quoth I, "if they be not amply instructed with such things as may satisfy the king's majesty, they might as well have tarried here at home." "By the mass," quoth he, "I trow ye say truth. But," quoth he, "his majesty shall have the marriage of our queen for his son, and both those realms knit in perfect friendship and perpetual peace. And," quoth he, "when the marriage shall be consummate, then both to be under one dominion. Think ye," quoth he, "that this will not satisfy your master the king's majesty?" "I cannot tell," quoth I, "what will satisfy him; but ye know what ye have promised to him, which I think his majesty looketh for. And be you assured," quoth I, "that he will stand upon the delivery of the child into his hand." "By God's body," quoth he, "if his majesty will prosecute it, there is no doubt but he shall obtain it; for the realm is not able to withstand his power, nor to make defence: And all we," quoth he, "that be his prisoners, be of one mind to assist his majesty to our power, according to our promise. The earl of Angus also," quoth he,

“and his brother, be true gentlemen; and,” quoth he, “the earl should have my daughter in marriage,* but the governour doth all that he may to impeach it; for,” quoth he, “he will have no alliance betwixt us.” “What think you?” quoth I; “will not the governour and the rest of the noblemen condescend to deliver the child into his majesty’s hands, as well as to offer him a contract of the marriage? which,” quoth I, “if they mind to perform, why should they not also consent to deliver her?” “I think,” quoth he, “they will not consent to deliver her; for they be of opinion,” quoth he, “that, if she were in the king’s majesty’s hands, she should never die; and whatsoever became of her, his majesty would dispose the crown of this realm. And therefore,” quoth he, “unless the fear of the war move them to deliver her, surely they will never consent to it: In which case, there is no other way to his majesty to come by his purpose,” quoth he, “but to use his force; unless,” quoth he, “it shall please his majesty to take some mean and indifferent way, either to take pledges for her delivery, when she shall be of lawful age to be married, or to appoint English men and women to be here about her, or both, which,” quoth he, “I think the governour and all the noblemen here will be brought unto. And if this will not serve,” quoth he, “by my truth, then must his majesty, as far as I see, go to it by force; which if it come so to pass, his majesty shall find me ready to perform and keep my promise, to the uttermost of my power. And then,” quoth he, “the time shall be come, that shall reveal who will keep promise; as, by my truth,” quoth he, “I dare say, there is not one of us, his majesty’s prisoners, but is firmly determined upon the same.” “How happened it,” quoth I, “being so well minded to keep your promise, that, contrary to the same, ye have established a governour here by parliament?” “By the mass, I cannot tell,” quoth he: “We thought the king’s majesty had been content that he should be governour; for,” quoth he, “his majesty wrote many kind letters to him, and accepted him well. And if

* Margaret Maxwell was accordingly married to the earl of Angus.

I durst," quoth he, "I would charge his majesty with one thing, which is, that he promised to send no safe-conduct, except some of us, his majesty's prisoners, were named in it, to come to his majesty for the conclusion of all matters to his grace's satisfaction. Wherefore," quoth he, "for my part, when I saw that his majesty, at the governour's suite, had sent a safe-conduct to such only as he named, I thought his majesty had well taken and reputed him for governour." "No, by St Mary!" quoth I, "it was far beside his majesty's expectation; and you may be sure," quoth I, "his majesty doth not yet repute him for governour, as, if ye noted such letters as his highness wrote unto him, ye may perceive," quoth I, "by the directions of the same, where his majesty calleth him only, *The earl of Arran, occupying the place of governour*. But surely," quoth I, "there was some default amongst you, that ye wrote not, nor advertised the king's majesty from time to time of your proceedings, whereby ye might have had knowledge again from his majesty of his grace's pleasure, and advice how to have prevented such things." "I have written divers times," quoth he, "and never heard word again; and great suite have I made," quoth he, "for my son,* who hath great charge on the borders, which, because I am prisoner, I cannot myself execute. And I promise you," quoth he, "the chief cause why I do desire him at home is, for that I might be able to keep promise with the king's majesty in the deliverance of the strong-holds being in my keeping, which," quoth he, "I am not trusted withall, because I am prisoner; and therefore am fain to ly myself in England, to the intent my son may be at home to take the charge of mine offices: For if any other man should be put into the holds, I were not able," quoth he, "to keep my promise in that behalf with the king's majesty, if his grace do prosecute his purpose by force, which I durst not write," quoth he, "for it touched me too near;

* Sir Thomas Wharton, afterwards lord Wharton, was deputy-warden of the west marches, and commanded the English at the memorable battle of Solway. The pledge whom Maxwell proposes to put into his hands, was his second son, sir John Maxwell of Terreagles, who afterwards became seventh lord Maxwell upon his brother's death without issue.

but I tell it to you," quoth he, "desiring that ye will write it to the king's majesty, and solicit effectually, that it may please his majesty to send commandment in that behalf to sir Thomas Wharton, to take mine other son pledge, who is as good a pledge as mine eldest son. * And," quoth he, "I will remain myself at Carlile till that time, as I am now going thither for that purpose: For," quoth he, "my son must needs be at home for the cause aforesaid." In this discourse and communication, I asked him also, whether they intended to abandon France? Whereunto he said, "There would be no doubt nor sticking in that part, if the rest do well succeed." And eftsoons finally he prayed me, "To write for him, that he might have home his son, which he chiefly desired, as he said, for respect of his said promise to the king's majesty, and that I would write in such sort as he might have shortly answer thereof at Carlile, where," he saith, "he will remain till that time." I promised him that I would write, as it may please your lordships to signify the same unto the king's majesty. And so my lord Maxwell took his leave of me, and returned home again; for, as he told me, he came hither but only of purpose to speak with me, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

I received the king's majesty's letters of the 30th of March, giving me charge to declare unto the earls of Angus and Glencairn, the lord Maxwell, and sir George Douglas, on his majesty's behalf, such things as be contained in his highness's said letters, which I know not how to accomplish, for at this present there is not one of them here, nor yet any other of that band. The earl of Angus and sir George Douglas, I think, will be here to-night, with whom I shall take mine opportunity, according to his majesty's commandment: But as to the earl of Glencairn, and the lord Maxwell, I know not when I shall see them; for the earl is sixty miles hence in the Highland here, as they

* Robert, afterwards sixth lord Maxwell.

call it, towards the isles, and the lord Maxwell went yesterday from hence towards Carlisle, which it may please your good lordships to declare unto his highness accordingly. And if I should say my poor opinion, I think his majesty shall without force have his purpose here, both for pledges to be delivered unto him for the performance of the marriage, (I will not say for the delivery of the child at such time as perchance his majesty shall appoint, but when she shall be of lawful age; for till then, I think, they will stick to have her here,) and also for the abandoning and renunciation of France. This I conjecture by such discourses and communications as I have had here amongst them; but I am not able certainly to judge thereof; not doubting but before these my letters shall arrive with you, or shortly thereupon, your lordships have, or shall know the truth thereof by their ambassadors. Thus Almighty God, &c.

To the Lords of his Majesty's Privy-Council, 8. April, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that yesterday I received your letters of the third of April; at which time were with me at dinner, in my lodging, the earls of Cassils and Glencairn. being newly come hither. Wherefore I thought it not amiss to participate unto them that part of your said letters, touching special regard to be had to the surety of the queen's person; wherein I told them, the king's majesty thought, as it was most likely to be truth, that the cardinal being now at liberty, and the earl of Lennox, who began to assemble and gather a power, with their complices, would do the best they could to surprize and get into their hands the said young queen; advising them therefore to devise and consult with their governour and others of their party, to get her removed to the castle of Edinburgh, where they might be sure of her. They answered, "It was very like that the earl of Lennox, and the cardinal also, if it lay in their power, would surely go about such a purpose, but being the

young queen where she is well kept and guarded, it was not possible for them to bring their desire to pass in that behalf, unless the governour should start from them to that party, which they thought he would not do." And as for the earl of Lennox, they assured me, "He had no gathering nor assembly; nevertheless, they thought it not amiss to make all sure, if they might," saying, "they would go down to the court to speak both the governour, the earl of Angus, and Sir George Douglas, and see what they could work in that matter;" which I advised them to do. And afterwards I sent for sir George Douglas, to whom I declared the contents of your lordships said letters. He said, "He liked very well the king's majesty's advice and counsel in that behalf;" and as he and I had, before the receipt of your said letters, communed of like matter in effect, touching the queen's person to be had into such place and surety, as, though the earl of Lennox, or any other of that party, should go about to surprise her, they should not now prevail in that part; so he told me, "he had been in hand with the governour to remove her to the castle of Edinburgh, where the late king, her father, was also nourished; but the governour," he said, "as he perceived, had no good will thereunto, because it was so near England, saying, there was an untrue information put into his head, that the king's majesty would not admit their ambassadors to his presence, but referred them to your lordships of his council; and that a great number of soldiers, which he called White-coats, were come to the Borders, which put him in great fear and suspicion." And therefore he told me, "That the said governour was afraid that the king's majesty minded some enterprize to be done for the conveying of the said queen into England; thinking it best, that, at mine access, I should not only satisfy him in that behalf, but also that I should not speak of the removing of the said queen to the castle of Edinburgh, lest he should thereby conceive farther suspicion, and in the mean season he would work the best he could in that behalf."

This day I repaired myself to the governour, and told him, "That the king's majesty perceiving, not only how he had been deceived in

the matter of the cardinal, but also how the earl of Lennox began to gather some force and assembly, which his majesty thought to be for some great purpose, either to surprise the young queen, with the advice and consent of the cardinal and his complices, which was most likely, or else to do some notable displeasure to him, and such as were of his party, had therefore commanded me to give him warning thereof, with advice, on his majesty's behalf, to remove the person of the queen to some other place of strength, where he might be sure of her, so that she be not gotten out of his hands or he be aware of it; providing surely, that he be not served therein as he was in the matter of the said cardinal." Whereunto he answered, "That indeed never man was worse served nor he was in that matter; and if the king's majesty's advice in that part had come in time, he would surely have followed it; as now he thanked his majesty most humbly for his advice touching regard to the sure custody of the queen;" which I prayed him then to follow with effect. And he assured me, "there was no danger of it; for the earl of Lennox," he said, "did make none assembly at all, but would have come to him or this time, saving that he was afraid of the earl of Angus; and now," he saith, "he will be here on Sunday next, for which purpose he hath already sent to take up his lodging; and the cardinal," he said, "remained still at St Andrews, feigning himself sick, saying, that as soon as he is whole, he will come hither to Edinburgh." And, besides that, he told me, "that the said young queen was in his chief strength at Linlithgow, and such about her as he trusted, so that he thought he could not be deceived." I put him in remembrance how the lord Seton had handled him,* being his near kinsman; and also, that the house of Linlithgow was an house of no great strength. † Wherefore, seeing the king's majesty hath given him

* In setting the cardinal at liberty.

† Linlithgow palace had been the favourite residence of James V.; queen Mary was born there, and it was still, it seems, the place of her residence. Although strongly situated upon the banks of a lake, magnificence has been more the object of the architect than defence; a circumstance not very common in Scottish palaces.

this advice and warning, I wished he should embrace and follow the same. He said, "he would use no prince's advice in the world afore his majesty's. And for removing the person of the young queen to some other place of strength, he said he could be well content to do it; but it was appointed by parliament, that she should be kept nowhere but at Linlithgow or Stirling, without consent, as well of the dowager and him as also the other estates of the realm; in which case," he said, "he was content, for his part, that she should be removed to the castle of Edinburgh, where," he said, "her father was fostered and nourished; and he doubted not but the rest of the lords would also agree to it; but what the dowager would do he doubted; for the which purpose he would nevertheless send unto her to know her inclination in that behalf." When I heard him thus conformable to bring her to the castle of Edinburgh, (whereof, although I minded earnestly the same, I had forborn, by the advice of sir George Douglas, for the consideration foresaid, to make special mention to the governour,) I then pressed him thereunto by all the good means I could, which he hath promised me, as much as in him lieth, to set forth and accomplish accordingly. I told him then, "that I perceived by your lordships said letters, that their ambassadors had presence and access unto the king's majesty, and were well entreated of the same, as I doubted not he should shortly hear from them;" whereof he seemed to be very glad, "and wished all things might come to good pass."

Here I took occasion to enter some discourse with him of the perplexed state of this realm; how he stood himself in the contempt of the clergy here, who, with their adherents, knowing his affection to the truth of God's word, would not fail to take their time, as it should serve them, to devise his ruin and destruction. Wherefore, I advised him to consider, what honour had been offered him by the king's majesty, whereby he might well perceive his highness's zeal and affection towards him, and how great a stay his majesty should be unto him, as well in the maintenance and upholding of his authority and state of this government, as also in the execution of all his godly purposes,

both to bring this realm to due obedience, and in the advancement of God's glory in setting forth of his true word and doctrine, which I thought of congruence should move him freely and frankly to proceed with the king's majesty in all things, without sticking in any such matter, as they which percase would his ruin, shall or may persuade him to stay in, the rather to hold and keep him from the king's majesty, to the intent they might the better work their will upon him hereafter to his overthrow and utter destruction ; which I assured him they would do as their time might serve them. He confessed all the same, saying, " it was true ; and that if the king's majesty and this realm were once at a good peace and unity, they would all be afraid of him, where now both divers lords and all the clergy seem to be at utterance with him ; wherefore his trust is, that the king's majesty will be a good lord to him : And as he desired nothing more than to do all that might be to his satisfaction with honour and reason ; so he trusted the king's majesty would require nothing but that he and the estates of the realm might well embrace, wherein for his part he would be most willing and conformable." And thus we discoursed of those things generally ; wherein I did as much as I could to cause him smell the danger which must needs ensue to him, if he should relent and fall from the devotion of the king's majesty to the other party, which himself hath told me be of the cast of France ; assuring him, that the bishops and clergy being of that party, knowing his disposition and opinion in Christian religion, would, when he thought himself most assured among them, work his destruction, as is aforesaid. He confessed the same, and has promised, " that he will in all things shew and declare himself most addicted to the king's majesty, and most willing to satisfy all his lawful desires, not offending the liberty and freedom of this realm."

As I was going to the said governour, I received the king's majesty's letters of the 4th of this present, proporting the whole progress with the ambassadors there, which, after I had perused, I resolved with myself not to enter, at this time, so far with the governour as to sig-

nify unto him the special points of his majesty's resolution, until he shall have advertisement of the same from the ambassadors, which is not yet arrived. And, in the mean season, I shall commune with the earls of Angus, Cassils, and Glencairn, and sir George Douglas, which be now here, and also with the lords Maxwel and Somervail when they come, of and upon the contents of the king's majesty's said letters, both to ripe them the better in the points resolved by his majesty with the said ambassadors, and also to devise with them how they may best work and frame the governour and the other lords of this realm to agree to the same, which I shall ensue in such sort as is prescribed unto me by the king's majesty's said letters accordingly. Herewith, your lordships shall receive a letter from the dowager here to the king's majesty, which she writeth upon knowledge that she hath of the detaining of her servant. She sent the same letter to me by one of her servants, and desired me "to convoy it to the king's majesty, and also to solicit a good answer thereunto with as much diligence as might be conveniently." And thus, &c.

To the King's Majesty, 9th April, 1543.

Please it your royal majesty to understand, that yesterday I received your majesty's letters of the 4th of April, containing the special points, which your majesty's pleasure is I should communicate with the governour here, in such sort as is expressed in your highness's said letters. The first, touching the setting forth of the scripture; the second, for the extirpation of the monks and friers, with the abolition of the bishop of Rome's usurped authority; and the third, concerning your majesty's determination for the marriage of your highness's daughter, the lady Elizabeth, to the said governour's son. In which three points I have conferred this day at good length with the said governour, according to the very purport and contents of your majesty's said letters, as near as I could, and in such order as is prescribed unto

me by the same. In the first point, I find him in such terms as your majesty would have him, for the setting forth of the scripture; wherein he saith, "he hath taken such direction for the admonishing of his people to read it sincerely and quietly to themselves for their own knowledge, without taking upon them any sinister or rash interpretation of the same, as by act of parliament made here in that behalf, he told me is fully set forth, with the banishment of all other English books, saving the mere scripture, being also of the best and truest translation; and when your majesty shall have perfected such books, as I told him your highness intended to set forth by publick authority, containing such a certain doctrine, as is maintainable by the mere truth; if it may like your majesty to send him the same," he saith, "he will not fail to publish it here, desiring, with all his heart, that these two realms may concur, not only in unity of the true understanding of God's word, but also, by all other good means, to be knit and assured one to another in perfect amity."

To the second point, he told me, "That he desired no less the reformation of the abuses of the church, and the extirpation of the estate of monks and friers, with the abolition of the bishop of Rome's usurped authority, than your majesty doth; but that," saith he, "will be an hard matter to bring to pass; for there be so many great men here, that be such Papists and Pharisees, (as he called them,) that unless the sin of covetice bring them unto it, (that is, the desire of having the lands of the abbeyes,) he knoweth none other mean to win them to his purpose in that behalf." And here he told me, "that he thought all monasteries, and houses of religion, were first founded to pray for the souls being in the pains of purgatory: and," quoth he, "if there be no purgatory, (as I am clearly of that opinion,) these foundations," quoth he, "be in vain and frustrate. And methinketh," quoth he, "it is a good ground whereupon to proceed to the extirpation of these sects ye speak of, of monks and friers, and to convert and employ the same to such better uses, as," quoth he, "ye have declared unto me on the king's behalf." I told him, "he should find

causes and grounds enough to proceed thereunto, if he would once go about it." Whereunto he answered, "That were the peace once concluded, and all things well established betwixt your majesty and this realm, he would as well in that, as in all other things, proceed by your advice and counsel afore all other princes living."

Then went I to the third point, touching the marriage to be had betwixt your majesty's said daughter and the governour's son,* which matter I handled with him as seriously as my poor wit could serve me, and as near as I could, omitted no point of the charge which your majesty gave me in that part by your said letters. The governour understanding the great honour your majesty did offer unto him in that behalf, put off his cap, and said, "he was most bound of all men unto your majesty, in that it pleased the same, being a prince of so great reputation in the world, to offer such alliance and marriage with so poor a man as he is, for the which he should bear his heart and service to your majesty next unto his sovereign lady during his life. He confessed both what honour the same should be unto him, and what advancement of his blood in the reputation of the world; what benefit, honour, and surety, it should be to himself and all his posterity; and also what stay and assistance he might thereby have of your majesty, as well in the quiet use and continuance of his place, office, and authority of this government without interruption; as also in and for the better execution of all his good purposes, tending to the setting forth of God's word, and the advancement of God's glory, in the extirpation of hypocrisy, and the usurped power of the bishop of Rome." But yet he would not confess, nor believeth, that any such combination should be contrived against him by the lords and bishops, who would not come to him at the first, as is comprised in your majesty's said letters; alledging, "That if the peace were once established, he could

* This bait which was held out to the earl of Arran, perhaps without any great sincerity, does not seem to have attracted him so much as one would have expected from so weak and vain a man. Elizabeth, afterwards queen of England, was the princess whom Henry proposed to bestow on the son of the Scottish governor.

and would rule them, he doubted not, at his own pleasure and devotion. And as for their parliament matters," he said, "they were wholly and solemnly agreed upon by all the states of the realm, none absent but the earl of Argyle, who, being himself sick, sent his procurator." But, touching the cardinal, he said, "He was as evil served in that matter as ever was man; for he had committed him to the keeping of the lord Seton, who standeth bound in his life and inheritance for his sure keeping: And yet, nevertheless," quoth he, "the cardinal is master of his own house, where he is, and has his liberty as well as you or I." I told him then, he might perceive his majesty's opinion was true, in that your majesty did advertise him, "that where he removed the cardinal to his own house, to get thereby an entry into the castle, it was the next way to lose both him and the said castle;" which he sware was true; and that the lord Seton, whom he trusted chiefly, had deceived him, saying, "that he had thereby forfeited both his life and his lands, if he list to put him to that extremity." I asked him, what he minded to do in that behalf? He told me, "he was at his wits end in the matter; but he would devise with the council thereupon, and see what they would determine." I returned then to the matter we were in before, and asked him, what I should write to your majesty of his answer to that overture of marriage which your highness hath in such sort made, as I had declared unto him?" He put off his cap again, and prayed me, "to write unto your majesty, that he most humbly thanked the same a thousand times for the great honour it pleased your highness to offer unto so poor a man as he was, and that he would communicate the same to his most secret and trusty friends, as to his brother and sir George Douglas, and not many more: Whereupon, or it were long, your majesty should know his whole mind and resolution in that behalf." And finally, he prayed me, on his behalf, "to render most humble thanks to your majesty for the great goodness and clemency you did shew to his said brother and the other gentlemen, which were lately with your majesty;" which I told him I would do accordingly, and so we departed. I intend diligently

to solicit his further answer to this overture of marriage, which had, I shall advertise with such diligence as appertaineth.

Furthermore, it may like your majesty to understand, that sir George Douglas hath told me, "That he went purposely on Saturday last, as sent by the governour, to St Andrews, only to see how and in what sort the cardinal was kept by the lord Seton;" where he hath been indeed. And he telleth me, "That the cardinal is at liberty, and master of his own castle, which he may well keep and defend, if he will:" wherein he said, "the lord Seton had failed of his duty;" and much he depraved him for the same. He told me also, that the cardinal said unto him, "That he was, and would be, at the governour's commandment; and notwithstanding that he was, and might take his liberty at his pleasure, he would nevertheless offer his body to the trial of his innocency; and if it may please the governour to use his service, he would most willingly serve him in the affairs of the realm: And though he were noted to be a good French-man, yet as he could not deny but he had some cause to favour France, for such living as he had there; * so," he said, "he was nevertheless a true Scotsman, and bare not any such affection to France, as should, in any point, move him to neglect the wealth and commodity of this realm. And no man knoweth better how necessary your majesty's amity was for the same, and what wealth and benefit should ensue to them by the conjunction of those two realms in perfect friendship and alliance; wherein, without regard of France, if he were at liberty, in the governour's favour he would travel to satisfy your majesty as much as any man in the realm of Scotland, saving the freedom and liberty of the same." This the said sir George told me, that the cardinal said unto him. And I asked the same sir George, "what they intended to do in that matter?" He said, "He could not tell what to say to it;"—swearing a great oath,—“That the cardinal's money and substance had corrupted the lord Seton, and a great many moe of the noblemen here.” And then he told me, "That

* The cardinal was bishop of Mirepoix in France, and held other benefices there.

the earl of Huntley, who had asked licence of the governour to go home into his country, was with the cardinal in St Andrews, and went not home at all." And also he said, " That the earl of Lennox began to gather a company together, and that the earl of Argyle was with him, and the lord Areskine, with certain bishops about Stirling; in so much, as he thought they would make a party about Stirling if they could. And loath he would be," he said, " that the cardinal should join with them; for he should be able, with his money and friends, to do more hurt than all the rest: wherefore it was more than requisite for them, to debate and consider well this matter," saying, " that he thought it expedient, seeing the cardinal was now in such case, as he might put himself abroad and at liberty when he would, to hold him in good hope, and to allure him to come out of the castle to the governour, by means whereof they might eftsoons get him into their hands, and so make him sure, rather than to put him into any desperation, whereby he might revolt to the other party." I told him, their matters were so perplexed, that I knew not what advice to give unto him; but I said, it behoved the governour, his brother the earl of Angus, and him, specially to look well to it, for it touched them chiefly; and they might be sure, if the other party might prevail, to smart for it. He told me, " If it come to that part, they were strong enough for any party that could be made in Scotland against them; and, in case they needed, they would sue and ask aid of your majesty." I advised him to consider and consult well upon all those things, so that such remedy might be provided in time, for those mischiefs which seemed to be towards, as they were not prevented, nor taken suddenly or unawares; which he said he would do; assuring me, " that there could be no party so soon assembled, as should be able suddenly to distress them." The governour in all discourses told me nothing of any such practice or assembly made by the earl of Lennox, nor would be acknownd of any such division; whereof I assure your majesty there is great appearance.

Since my last writing to your majesty, the cardinal sent a chaplain of his unto me, with the self same message and tale, that he told to the said sir George Douglas, as is before expressed; and offered unto me, all the gratuity and pleasure he could, with commendation of his service unto your majesty. Whereunto I answered, that forasmuch as I knew not in what case I stood, hearing tell that he was committed upon sundry great crimes, it became me not, nor I would not require any gratuity or pleasure at his hand; but if he were his own man, and in such case as I might lawfully commune or treat with him, I would be the rather glad to use his advice, if I thought he would play the part of a good minister, for the good perfection of such things as might tend to the benefit and wealth of both these realms. The said chaplain told me then, "That his master, the cardinal, bade him say unto me, that where he understood your majesty was informed, how that he should have been the impediment and lett, that the late king of Scots came not to your majesty, he was able to prove that he was unjustly reported to your highness in that part: And whatsoever information was made unto your majesty, he had always as great a regard and desire to the increase of amity betwixt these two realms as any man living; wherein, when it shall be his chance to speak with your majesty, he shall declare himself by pregnant reasons." Also, since the dispatch of my said last letters, here hath been with me the lord Fleming;* who, in discoursing with me of the state and success of his promise, amongst others made unto your majesty, told me, "That if your highness had not all your desire and purpose, the Douglasses were most to blame therefore; for they had established a governour here, most unmeet to bear the name, and occupy the place of such an office and estate, whom they only did support, and with whom also they might do

* Malcolm, third lord Fleming, was married to Janet Stewart, sister to king James V., and was lord chamberlain of Scotland. Being made prisoner at Solway, he embraced the English party, which he shortly afterwards deserted. He was killed at the battle of Pinky. It may be observed, that he takes the part of the queen-dowager in the following discussion with Sadler, and was probably already engaged in her interest.

what they would, and specially sir George Douglas; so as if they did not work with him all your majesty's affairs in such sort as they promised, your great liberality bestowed upon them was evil employed." And he said, "If sir George Douglas had not taken upon him to work all things, as he did, after his own fantasy and appetite, your majesty might have had your whole purpose or this time." I understand there is some dissention betwixt them and the said lord Fleming, for an office of sheriffship here within this realm, and that percase moved him to speak the more against them: Nevertheless I heard him quietly; and then began he to dispraise the said governour, saying, "That he was the greatest dissembler, and the most inconstant man in the world; and therefore for his part he meddled not with him, nor came not to him, who, he thought, minded nothing less than the marriage of the young queen here to my lord prince's grace;" assuring me, "that after he came from your majesty, the said governour said unto him, that he would rather take the said young queen, and carry her with him into the isles, and go dwell there, than he would consent to marry her into England. Whereunto," he saith, "he answered, that if he so did, your majesty, for the value of 10l. Scots, could have one of the Irish cettericks* there to bring you his head." And, further, he told me, "That unless your majesty had the child delivered into your hands, which would not here be granted, or else sufficient pledges for the performance of the marriage, he thought assuredly the same should never take effect. And as for pledges," he said, "if the governour were well content, and minded to grant the same, it lieth not in his power to perform it with good pledges; for he should never get a nobleman in the realm that would lay pledge in England for the matter." Siclike, he told me, "That he came even then from the queen-dowager, who bade him make her recommendations unto me, and therewith to tell me, that the governour had been with her since my last being there, and had demanded of her, whether your majesty did make unto

* Banditti.

her any office of marriage? and whether she intended to go dwell in England? Whereunto she answered, that if your majesty, being one of the noblest princes, of the greatest reputation this day in the world, should mind or offer unto her such honour, she could not but account herself most bound to your highness for the same. And the governour said again, that your majesty dissembled altogether with her, in whatsoever I said unto her on your behalf; and that whatsoever she said or signified unto your majesty, your grace did again advertise him of the same." This the lord Fleming told me from the queen; "whom," he saith, "your majesty shall find a true and plain gentlewoman in all her proceedings, and singularly well affected to all your majesty's desires." Finally, he told me, "That he had written a letter to my lord privy-seal, whereby he had declared some part of his mind; and shortly," he told me, "he would afore his day go to his entry, and repair unto your majesty for the farther declaration of his intent; and, for his part, he was fully determined to serve your majesty to the uttermost of his power, according to his promise, as (if these matters proceeded to force) your highness should well perceive." Thus I write unto your royal majesty every man's tale in such sort as I hear them; whereby your grace may perceive the perplexed state of those things and affairs here, and thereupon judge the better by your most excellent wisdom, what is most expedient to be done for the accomplishment of your most noble and vertuous desires: And as I shall get further knowledge of things worthy your majesty's knowledge, I shall advertise the same from time to time with diligence. This day the earl of Angus hath married the lord Maxwell's daughter, * which hitherto hath been protracted by the governour, and now at last accomplished with his good-will and consent. Thus Almighty, &c.

* Margaret Maxwell. She survived the earl, and married Baillie of Lamington.

To the King's Majesty, 12th April, 1543.

Please it your royal majesty to understand, that this day the governor sent for me at afternoon, and at my coming unto him, said, "He had sent for me, both to declare himself concerning the liberty of the cardinal, who," he said, "had now gotten himself free with his money; and also to give me further answer, touching such great honour as your majesty had minded towards him, in the overture of the marriage betwixt your majesty's daughter and his son. And first, for the cardinal, he would begin with that matter, because it touched him near: wherein," quoth he, "I have spoken so largely to you, that I am afraid the king's majesty shall take displeasure with me, and conceive some suspicion that the said cardinal hath gotten liberty with my will and consent." And here he sware many great oaths, as *wounds* and *sides*, that he was no more privy nor consenting to the setting of him at large *

and laid hand on his sword, offering to stick himself to the heart, if he knew of it till he was at liberty, praying me most effectually, holding up his hands, "That I would write to your majesty with all diligence for his declaration in that part." I prayed him to tell me the manner how the said cardinal got his liberty, to the intent I might also write the same unto your majesty. He said, "That the lord Seton, who is his near kinsman, (which he rued, for," quoth he, "he hath shamed all his blood,) was bound to him in his life and inheritance for the sure keeping of the said cardinal as a prisoner: And now," he said, "it was appointed, when the said cardinal should remove from the Blackness to St Andrews, that the said lord Seton should first have had the castle of St Andrews delivered unto him, and all the cardinal's folks to have been put out of it, and then he to have been brought

* *Here the copy was rottin and consumed.*---Marginal note on MS. in Advocates' Library.

thither, and so to have remained there prisoner in as sure custody as before : Nevertheless," quoth he, " the lord Seton being corrupt by the cardinal with great sums of money and other gifts, brought the cardinal into his own strength, in the said castle of St Andrews. And whereas the lord Seton," quoth he, " hath not twelve or sixteen men within the castle, the cardinal hath three hundred ; so that he is plainly at his own liberty, and is master of the castle, in such sort," he said, " as he might go where he would, being as he was amongst his friends." I told him, he had been very evil served, and that the lord Seton had a great matter to answer unto. Whereunto he said, " That he should answer unto it ; and were those matters once at a good point with your majesty, he would pursue him according to the laws." This he spake in a great heat, as, I assure your majesty, he seemed to be much moved with the matter, and laboured with great oaths and constant asseverations to purge his innocency in the matter ; still praying me, " to write to your majesty as effectually as I could in and for his declaration, trusting that your majesty would believe him : for," quoth he, " I am a Christian man, and if I should swear to you as I do, and ly, I were worse than a Jew." I promised that I would write unto your majesty in that behalf with diligence. " But now," quoth I, " since the cardinal is at his liberty, what intend you to do in that matter ?" " Marry," quoth he, " I have, by the advice of the council, sent my brother, the abbot of Paisley, unto him, to look if he can induce him to come hither : and," quoth he, " since he had his liberty, he said he would serve me ; and that, leaving utterly the cast of France, he would be wholly, as I am," quoth he, " given to the cast of England ; which, if he will do, the rather I shall be content to extend favour and mercy unto him. But," quoth he, " I think verily he will not come to me, fearing lest I should eftsoons lay hand on him : And it is told me," quoth he, " that he will go further northwards, to Arbroth, among his friends, where he thinketh," quoth he, " to be in surety ; but by God's blood," quoth he, " if he do so, I will follow and pursue him so near, that I will either have him into my hands again,

or else," quoth he, "I will dy upon him." And, sir," quoth I, "do ye intend, in case he come hither, to remit him?" "I pray you," quoth he, "what is your advice in that part?" "My lord," quoth I, "I am not able to give you advice; but if it may please you to tell me what ye have to charge him withal, and for what cause he was apprehended, I will tell you," quoth I, "mine opinion." "Marry," quoth he, "the principal matter whereupon he was taken, was upon knowledge that we had by a letter from my lord warden, my lord Lyle,"* quoth he, "that the cardinal had procured the duke of Guise to come hither with an army to subdue this realm, and to take the government of the same; whereof now," quoth he, "we have no proof, nor we perceive not," quoth he, "that the same was true. Nevertheless," quoth he, "we have other matters to charge him with; for he did counterfeit," quoth he, "the late king's testament; and when the king was even almost dead," quoth he, "he took his hand in his, and so caused him to subscribe a blank paper; and besides that," quoth he, "since he was prisoner, he hath given special and secret command to his men to keep his hold and castle of St Andrews against us; which," quoth he, "is a plain disobedience and rebellion." I engrieved these crimes as much as I could, and told him, that I heard say, "he had forgiven and pardoned the cardinal of that crime in forging of the king's testament;" as indeed communing yesterday with the lord Somervail in that matter, he told me it was so. Nevertheless, the governor assured me, that he never gave the cardinal remission for the same. Whereupon I told him, that my poor opinion was, though the cardinal come hither at his sending for, he should never admit him to his presence, nor yet so hastily remit his offences, which being so great, he could not, with his honour, pardon in such sort, specially considering the said cardinal had so heaped one fault upon another, as besides his great crimes which he was committed upon, he had as it were by a mean broken prison; wherefore, if he should thereupon clearly re-

* John, the fourth and last lord Lyle.

lease him, it should not only much impair his estimation, but also be a great courage to all offenders to double their offences, thinking thereby the rather to obtain remission and pardon. Wherefore, I said it was best, in my poor opinion, that if the cardinal come hither, he should be committed to the custody of some noblemen here in the town, and not go abroad, nor come in the governour's presence, nor yet be restored to liberty, until he had your majesty's advice in the same, which I said I doubted not should be shortly. "And seeing," quoth I, "you ask mine advice, I have now told you the same." Whereupon he paused a little, and said, he thought it not amiss, and would devise farther in that behalf with the council, praying me, in the mean season, to advertise your majesty of the whole matter, and to make his declaration in the same. And then leaving that matter, he told me, that he had communed with his secret friends, touching the marriage betwixt your majesty's daughter and his son; and they not only thought him, as he also thought himself, most bounden unto your majesty for the great honour was offered unto him in that behalf, but also had determined, that it was an overture most meet and requisite for him most willingly to accept and embrace. And," quoth he, "I am bound to creep on my knees to do his majesty service, for his great clemency and goodness extended towards me therein. Wherefore," quoth he, "forasmuch as I remember well you told me, that the king's majesty, in case I should go through with him in all other matters, had resolved upon this marriage, if I should desire the same; therefore it is meet," quoth he, "that I should desire it: So when all those other matters be concluded, or at a good point, which," quoth he, "there is no doubt but we shall easily agree upon, unless the king's majesty go about to take away the liberty and freedom of this realm, and to bring the same to his obedience and subjection; I shall then," quoth he, "send to his majesty to desire the said marriage for my son." Here I repeated unto him, the great honour and manifold commodities that should grow unto him by the same, in such sort as I was instructed by your majesty's last letters, which he affirmed. And ever, ac-

according to the contents of your highness's said letters, I bound upon him for the sending of his son, in case this marriage should take effect, to be nourished and educate in your majesty's court ; wherein I found him most willing and conformable. In this discourse, also, he told me, that if the peace were concluded, he would not be long from your majesty. And again, he prayed me, to write immediately unto your majesty, both for his declaration in the cardinal's liberty ; and also, on his behalf, most humbly to thank your majesty for the great honour and advancement minded towards him by your highness, for the which your majesty should be assured of his heart and service for ever. Which, I assure your majesty, he spake as heartily, and with greater affection, in appearance, than I can devise to express it. I promised him then, that I would forthwith write unto your majesty, according to his desire, and so departed from him.

The earl of Lennox came not yet to the governour, but remaineth still in the west parts ; some say he will come, and some say he will not. The governour himself told me, that the said earl had sent him word, that he had both letters and credence* to the lords and states of the realm from the French king ; wherefore, if there might be indifferent place appointed, at St Johnston or Stirling, where the lords would assemble, he would come to declare his credence ; for the governour told me, he had no will to come hither to Edinburgh, for fear of the earl of Angus. He was answered by the governour, " that if he had any credence or commission from the French king, if he would come hither and declare it, in case it should then seem to be of such importance as required a convention and assembly of the lords, the governour would then send for them as the case should require, or else he thought it not meet to trouble any of them in that behalf : " so that, he saith, " the said earl will come hither, though, " quoth he, " he maketh no great haste. " I told him, that I heard say, the earl of Argyle was

* Credence, like *creance* in French, is used for the effect or substance of an embassy or mission referred to the envoy's own report.---See Howell's French and English Dictionary, *voce* Creance.

with him, and diverse other lords, intending to make a party ; but the governour assured me, that it was not so. And in this communication of the earl of Lennox, I put him in remembrance of the conditions of abstinence, which are such, as I told him, he might not treat with any other prince or potentate, upon any amity, conjunction, or alliance, without break of the said abstinence ; which, he answered me, he knew well enough, and assured me, he would justly observe the conditions of the same.

I communed also this day with the earls of Angus and Cassils, the lords Maxwell and Somervail, where we dined all together with the earl of Angus. They be all much offended with the lord Seton for the liberty of the cardinal, and do all excuse the governour of the same. They protest unto me very seriously, that neither the governour, to their knowledge, nor any of them, were consenting to it, but they suspect much the earl of Huntley. And now, since the cardinal is at liberty, the lord Maxwell said, betwixt earnest and game, “ that it was not amiss (if he would leave France, and be of their affection towards England, which he thought assuredly he would do,) to send him in embassy to your majesty, to knit up all those matters.” Finally, discoursing with them of the state of all things here, I do find them, in outward appearance, most assured and willing to serve your majesty, and to satisfy the same in all points, according to their promise, by fair means, if they can ; if not, otherwise, if it shall so please your majesty to extend your force. “ Marry,” they say, “ if it might so stand with your grace’s pleasure, to leave your purpose of the government of this realm, and not only to suffer this man that is governour to use the place and office, but also to be content, that in case the young queen die before the consummation of the marriage, he may be sure to succeed in the crown of this realm, as he is now established second person of the same ; there is no doubt, but in all other things which your majesty could require, your grace should be satisfied.” I told them, I knew not what would please ; but they knew well enough, and so did I, what they had promised, which, most seriously they as-

sured me, they would perform, or else die in the field for the same. And so they prayed me to write unto your majesty, as I promised them I would do accordingly. And now there be letters sent out to all the lords that be absent, to assemble here against such time as they think to hear from their ambassadors being with your majesty, which they look for shortly, to the intent they may, upon knowledge what your highness shall stick upon, devise for your satisfaction, as they say, in all things reasonable; whereunto these men seem to be very earnestly affected and inclined.

This is the sum of such communication as I have had this day with the governour and the other noblemen afore named; wherein, though I have not used such dexterity as were expedient, it may nevertheless please your majesty, of your accustomed clemency, to bear with me, and not to impute the same to any default of good-will, but to the lack of wit and experience; as knoweth God, &c. Thus, &c.

The former part of this Letter following, to the King's Majesty, of the 18th of April, 1543, was lost, so that there is but a part of it here written, in manner following.

* * * * * so great benefit.† And I knew well enough that (his brother except) no man had made larger promises than he, having heretofore bound himself without condition to remain ever your majesty's true subject. And as I heard credibly, that even at his last repair northwards, speaking with your majesty in the lodge, in the park of Windsor, he did both repeat his band and promise in that behalf; and also said many other things touching the crown of Scotland, with such like things, being of such importance, as I was sure he could not so soon forget; wherefore he could not say, that he hath not so largely promised as the rest, for indeed his promises be far

† Sadler seems to speak of an interview with sir George Douglas.

larger ; and therefore I required him to leave his so saying, and to apply himself to accomplish that he had promised, whilst time served. Whereunto he answered, “ That indeed he ought his service unto your majesty, and would serve, and hath served the same since his coming hither, as well and better than any of the rest, who had made largest promise ; but for promise he had made none so large as the others : And he doubted not but your majesty remembred, that when his brother covenanted and bound himself, and also took oath to serve your majesty, which band and oath was,” he saith, “ taken at Abingdon in the Park, at your majesty’s being there, he, for his part, refused to be sworn as his brother was, saying, that he had never taken oath but once to his wife, which he had broken, * and therefore would no more be sworn ; offering nevertheless his service to your majesty, which,” he saith, “ it pleased you at that time to accept, and take in good part. And at his last departure from your majesty, he remembreth that there passed but very few words betwixt your majesty and him, and that was when he came into the said park into the lodge, as your majesty came forth to go on shooting, he offered himself to take his leave, and desired to know your majesty’s pleasure, how his brother and he should behave themselves when they came to the borders, because,” saith he, “ it was then in doubt, whether there should be any wars or not ; and your majesty answered, that, because there were many folks by, he should take no leave, but go his way, and from time to time he should know your majesty’s pleasure by your council. These,” he saith, “ were all the words which passed then betwixt your majesty and him : Nevertheless,” he said, “ he was your servant, and would have no other master whilst he lived :” And here he wished, “ your majesty knew his heart, and also knew perfectly what service he hath done, and in-

* Sir George Douglas’s lady was Elisabeth, daughter and heiress of David Douglas of Pittendrieck, by whom he became possessor of that estate. He appears to have been a man of intrigue ; as, besides his family by his wife, he left a natural son, George Douglas of Parkhead, and a daughter by Lady Dundas, born during her husband’s lifetime. See *Godscroft*.

tendeth to your majesty since his arrival here. And if all things succeeded not to your majesty's satisfaction, according to his intent and desire, but shall percase proceed to force and utterance; as he hath bent all his wits to frame your majesty's purposes in peaceable and quiet manner, which he feareth he is not so happy to bring to pass. So your majesty shall well perceive that he will likewise apply himself to serve otherwise in all things, as your majesty shall command him, to the uttermost of his power, as readily and willingly as any of the rest, who have made largest promises."

And as we were thus talking, being together in a garden at the Black-friers, came to us, by appointment before had among us, the earls of Angus, Glencairn, and Cassils, with whom, and also with the said sir George, I entred further, according to the contents of your majesty's said letters; and surely I found them in words and appearance as firmly bent, as any men can be, to serve your majesty in the perfection and accomplishment of their promise, if this matter come to force. And the earl of Glencairn earnestly perswaded the rest, out of hand to joyn with him in the solicitation of the governour, to get the young queen in the castle of Edinburgh; wherein I told them what the said governour had promised me, as I also wrote in my last letters to your majesty's council. They said, it was time to go about it; for else percase, considering that the cardinal, the earls of Lennox, Huntley, and Argyle, keep themselves abroad from the court, it was like enough that they would assemble and go about to surprise the child if they might; wherein the earls of Glencairn and Cassils were very earnest, and seemed a little moved with the earl of Angus and sir George, because they made themselves more sure of the child where she was, than indeed they can be: wherein nevertheless they resolved all to work what they could to remove her to Edinburgh. Touching the strong-holds, methinks they be out of hope to recover them, though I perceive they would gladly. As for Stirling and Dumbarton, they say, they will not be had; and yet they say, they will advise the governour to demand Dumbarton of the earl of Lennox in the queen's name,

and they wish all that the earl of Glencairn had it. As likewise they would be glad to have the rest, saying, they were madmen, if they so would not, but they knew not how to come by them. Stirling, they say, is the queen-dowager's jointure, and is in the keeping of the lord Areskine, who is not their friend, and will surely keep it: Edinburgh and Dumbar be at the governour's commandment; and my lord of Angus saith, he will surely keep Temptallon. And further, touching the inconstancy of the governour, which they all affirm, they say, "they have and do use all the perswasions they can, to entertain him on their part, and have, as much as in them is, advised him of such dangers and inconveniencies, as might or must needs ensue unto him by the contrary; but they much fear that he will at last work his own confusion. And ever since his brother, the abbot of Paisley,* came home, he hath been chiefly ruled and counselled by him, who, they assure me, is altogether at the cast of France, and the cardinal's great friend; and whatsoever they do mind with the governour to-day, the abbot of Paisley changeth him in the same or to-morrow; nevertheless they will take as good heed to him as they can."

Then left we these matters, and I entred with them of the ambassador's proceedings with your majesty, and partly discoursed with them of such conferences as they had with your majesty's council; finally declaring unto them your highness's resolution in that behalf, whereof, I told them, the governour and they should hear very shortly from their said ambassadors. And here I inculked unto them how reasonably and plainly your majesty proceeded, assuring them, that, for my part, I thought that your majesty would not have so much relented, as to have given place, or yielded to any piece of that which was pro-

* The abbot of Paisley was John Hamilton, natural brother to the governor. In this year, 1543, he was made keeper of the privy-seal, and afterwards lord-treasurer. Being a man of talents, and devoted to the interests of the church of Rome, he contributed much to detach his brother from the English faction. He was afterwards made bishop of Dunkeld, and finally primate of St Andrews. In the civil wars he espoused the cause of queen Mary with such ardour, that he was accused of treason by the opposite faction; and falling into their hands, at the surprise of Dunbarton, he was publicly hanged at Stirling, 1st April, 1570.

mised: wherefore I prayed them to consider it accordingly, and now to shew themselves true gentlemen in the furtherance and setting forth of those your majesty's most reasonable desires, tending so much to the benefit of this realm; whereby, I told them, they might redouble all other their defaults in those matters. The earl of Glencairn answered, "That he could not tell what they should be able to do in the treaty of marriage, wherein he and the rest also, he doubted not, would bend their wits to the uttermost, to satisfy your majesty as much as in them is; but if it come to stroaks, as he saw it was very like to do, they would shew themselves true gentlemen unto your majesty:" Which they all affirmed; and they agreed all in one opinion, that as they thought assuredly it would never be granted without stroaks, that the child should go out of the realm, till she were of lawful age to consummate the matrimony. And as for pledges, they would your majesty had such as were chief of this realm. But, as far as I perceive by them, they be in doubt, though the governour would agree to it, how he shall be able to get you such pledges, as they perceive your majesty would accept. For the peace perpetual, in such sort as your majesty requireth the same, they think surely that will be obtained. And thus, after we had discoursed a good while, they seeming to be in great despair for accomplishment of those things without force, resolved (for as much as on Sunday next all the great lords are appointed to assemble here for those matters) to send for the lord Maxwell, and also for their folks and servants to be here with them in the town, intending to make Drumlanrig, being their assured friend, provost of the town, whereby to have the strength of the same, so that whatsoever chance they will be masters of the town; and, in the mean season, they will work to have the young queen removed to the castle of Edinburgh, if it were possible, which, they say, they will forthwith go about. And even as we were departing, came a messenger from the governour to the earl of Angus and his brother, also to the rest which were so with me, saying, "That the governour had sent for them to come to council, for the herauld was newly arrived with letters from their ambassa-

dors out of England." Which when they heard, they feared lest the same news, which the herauld bringeth, should alter the governour, so as they should not come by their purpose touching the queen's removing, wherein nevertheless they would use all the possible means unto them. And so desiring them now to stir and apply these things, in such sort as your majesty might be satisfied, wherein I told them, they might have a goodly opportunity with the governour, before the rest of the lords of the adverse party assemble here; and also praying them that I might hear of their proceedings, which the earl of Glencairn and sir George Douglas promised me: I left them going to the court, where the governour and they, with the rest of the council here, have sit all this day very busily upon these matters.

And this evening came to me the said earl of Glencairn, who shewed me, "that the governour was much altered, and utterly determined to abide the extremity of the war, rather than condescend to the accomplishment of your majesty's desires, in such sort as is contained in the schedule delivered to their ambassadors, which they have sent hither." And also a great number of the council being now here were of the same opinion, none standing with your majesty's desires but your majesty's prisoners, and such as they have drawn to their devotion, as the earl Marishal and the lord Ruthven. And as for sir George Douglas, he hath no voice in council; so as when all the lords and bishops shall assemble, unto which time they have put off the further consultation of this matter, that is to say, till Sunday or Munday next; the said earl of Glencairn assureth me, "there will be six voices against your majesty till their one. Wherefore," he saith, "if your majesty be resolved to stand upon those points, it shall be requisite to prepare your force and army both by land and sea, and in time to declare your high pleasure how your majesty will resolve for them which be here your prisoners; whether they shall make them ready to enter at their day into England, or remain here together to put themselves in force, able to keep a party in this country till your majesty's army come to them; and what shall be your majesty's pleasure in that part, they will

undoubtedly follow the same to the uttermost of their powers." I told him, it should be most requisite for them in time to look to the surety of the person of the young queen, and to get her into their hands, if it was possible. And he said, "the governour would nowise remove her now to the castle of Edinburgh, but they would have sure regard that he should not take her away to any other place without resistance to their possibility, and will do what they can to be sure of her." Besides that, I told him, it were more than necessary for them to get some of the strong-holds into their hands, according to your majesty's former advice. Whereunto he answered, "that your majesty should be sure of Temptallon, and such other strong-holds as were in hands of the lord Maxwell; the rest," he said, "were hard to come by, but he believed they should be able to keep and hold this town maugre the governour and all his partakers, and trusted also to keep him here with them, either with or against his will, while your majesty's army should arrive: Praying me to advertise your majesty with all speed thereof, to the intent they may the sooner know what your gracious pleasure is to have them do; for the execution whereof they will put themselves in readiness accordingly." I said, it was much to my marvel, why the governour, or any good Scotsman, should refuse your majesty's said desires, considering they were so reasonable and so beneficial for them, and prayed him to tell me upon what point they stuck so fast? He answered, "that in nowise would they agree to the delivery of the child within two years." I asked him, what time they would require for her delivery? He said, "they would have her eleven years old first; but in that point, for the certain time, they were not yet resolved, but had put it off to the assembly of the whole council; and for pledges," he thought, "they would come to it hardly. And likewise, for the perpetual peace, he trusted, that a great many would be of their opinion, to grant it in such sort as your majesty required it; but for the delivery of the child within two years, he saw perfectly they would never grant it. And also the governour," he saith, "doth much mislike the appointment by your majesty of his govern-

ment, with such conditions and qualifications as in the said schedule is expressed, which he will in no wise accept. These things," he saith, "they stick upon, which, for his part, he thinketh nevertheless reasonable," and saith, "he told so the governour; advising him to look well upon them, and to bear off the inconveniences which might follow the refusal of the same." And also he saith, "he told the said governour that he might be sure of the war, if he should not herein apply to reason, which it should be more than necessary for him to consider and foresee how they might be able to resist it; which, if he weighed well, he should soon perceive a great lack and diffurniture." Whereunto he saith, the governour answered quickly, "That this realm had defended itself hitherto, and God would help them in their right; and as for him, he told him, he spake only for his own part, and such as were your majesty's prisoners, which, though they were all tied in fetters in England, he should nevertheless cause their friends and kinsmen serve in their places." And the earl of Glencairn saith, he told him plainly again, "that if they were all tied in fetters in England, he might be sure, that never a friend nor kinsman of theirs would serve him till they were loose; and that he spake not so much for his own part, because he was your majesty's prisoner, but of his very duty and special zeal he hath to the preservation of the young queen and benefit of this realm; which, he telleth me, that he and all the rest of your majesty's servants and friends here will make their quarrel, and stand fast to your majesty in the same, according to their promise, if this matter grow to such extremity, as is now very like. In which case," he saith, "both he and the lord Maxwell shall have great lack of their eldest sons remaining pledges for them in England." And here, again, he prayed me to remember your majesty thereof; and also, that it might please the same shortly to signify unto him and the rest of that party your grace's pleasure in the premisses; how they shall proceed, either to put themselves in readiness to repair to your majesty at their day of entry, or remain for putting themselves in force, to keep some part of this realm in their power, to joyn with your majes-

ty's army, when it shall please your highness to send the same ; and, upon knowledge of your majesty's pleasure in that behalf, they will not fail to execute the same to their uttermost power, which I promised that I would write to your highness accordingly. And thus we ended our communication for the time, which I thought meet to signify unto your majesty undelayedly ; and to-morrow I intend to speak with the governour, whom I shall press to the satisfaction of your majesty, in such sort as your grace hath prescribed unto me by your most gracious letters : And as I shall find him, and all other which I shall essay in that behalf, and also what I shall perceive is to be looked for at their hands, I shall not fail, from time to time, to advertise the same, according to my most bound duty. The Holy Trinity preserve your most excellent majesty, &c.

To my Lord SUFFOLK, 20th April, 1543.*

Please it your grace to understand, that this morning came to me the earl of Angus, and prayed me, " Now, since my lord Lyle is gone from the borders, to write unto your grace for his wages, payable," as he saith, " on Thursday next." And, moreover, he told me, " that the cardinal, the earls of Lennox, Huntley, Argyle, and Murray, do come hither very strongly to this assembly, being now set and appointed for conclusion of these matters between these realms, as he is informed ; and that the governour being now somewhat altered from the king's majesty, and greatly discontent with his majesty's demands, has secretly given advice and monition to the said cardinal and the others above named, being of the adverse party to the king's majesty,

* Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, son of sir William Brandon, who bore the standard of Henry VII. in the field of Bosworth. He married four wives, the third of whom was Mary, queen-dowager of France. The duke was renowned for his address in tournament, and for gaining early, and retaining to the last, the favour of his capricious sovereign. He died at Guilford, in Surrey, 24th August, 1545.

to come hither as starkly as they can." Whereby the said earl of Angus gathereth, that they mind not well to him, his brother, the earls of Glencairn and Cassils, and the others being of his highness's party : wherefore, he hath presently made out letters to his friends and servants to repair unto him ; so that he doubteth not to be in and about this town, at the least, to the number of six or seven thousand men. And also the rest of the said earls and lords of his party do likewise provide to make themselves strong ; assuring me, " that if those things come to any utterance here among themselves, they will be strong enough for their adversaries, as he trusteth. The gathering of this force," he saith, " is very chargeable unto him ; and though, where the king's majesty alloweth him 100 l. a month, he spendeth 300 l. only in retaining gentlemen and others, his friends and servants, about him ; yet," he saith, " he is ashamed to put the king's majesty to such cost and charge as he doth ; trusting, nevertheless, his majesty shall see such fruit of his service, if those matters proceed to force, as his highness shall have cause to think his cost well employed." And, therefore, he prayed me, " that I would write presently to your grace, not only for his ordinary wages, now due, but also, that it might please you to advance unto him 100 l. more for his relief in those charges at this time : " which, in my poor opinion, shall be well done to accomplish ; for if the rest be well bestowed, the same is not lost ; and it is no great matter. Assuring your grace, that if there be any truth in man, he shall shew himself a true gentleman to the king's majesty, and so shall also the earls of Glencairn and Cassils ; whercof I see notable appearance.

At the writing hereof, I received the letters from the council to the said earl of Angus, which I have sent to him. And as to the contents of the same, there has been as much said and devised in that behalf, as is now written by the said council. And for the surety of the child, they will do so much, and have taken order, as they say, " to keep her sure, that she shall not be stoln away from Linlithgow, where she is ; and by force," they say, " she shall not be taken away without battle :

but to remove her to any other strong-hold, they cannot yet bring it to pass." And as to the governour, he is even now ready to revolt to the other party, notwithstanding of all such perswasions as has been unto him; whose stay, nevertheless, they do procure by all the good means they can. And, for my part, I have said as much unto him as I could devise by my poor wit, to cause him savour the dangers he should put himself into, by giving ear, trust, or credit, to the clergy, and those which be of that party; and the great benefit, honour, and surety, that he should receive by his conformity to the king's majesty's desires. But, I fear me, all will not help: which it may please you signify unto my said lords of the council accordingly. And thus, &c.

To the King's Majesty, 20th April, 1543.

Please it your royal majesty to understand, that this day I have had access to the governour; and at our meeting, I told him, that I understood he had received letters from his ambassadors; by the which, I doubted not, he did well perceive how reasonably and plainly your majesty proceeded, and how much your highness tendred the surety and preservation of your pronepte, and the universal benefit of this realm: trusting that, for his part, he would shew himself again in such terms towards your majesty, and so conformable in that behalf, as it should not appear to the world, that he alone neglected the opportunity and occasion offered of God, and by your majesty embraced, for the conjunction of both these realms in perfect unity and perpetual peace. He wished, "that your majesty would proceed reasonably; for he thought your demands very sharp, and such as he was sure the states of the realm would not agree unto: and, for his part, he could not be induced, nor perswaded to condescend unto the same." I told him, that I had received letters from your majesty, by the which I could not perceive but that your desires were such as no man of rea-

son could judge unreasonable, to the intent I might (if it would be) satisfy him with reason. He said, "First, your majesty would have the child delivered, and brought into your realm within two years, and pledges in the mean season for the same, which he thought to be against all reason: for having her in England, if it should please God to call the prince to his mercy, he said your majesty might marry her to whom pleased you within your own realm, against the will and consent of this realm; besides other inconveniences, which might grow of her being out of her own realm." Secondly, He said, "your majesty would have them friends to friends, and enemies to enemies, by mean whereof they should lose their old friends, as France and Denmark. But, to the third part, which," he said, "touched himself for the place of governour here, he passed not thereupon; for he regarded not so much the authority of the place, as he tendred his duty to his sovereign lady, and the wealth and benefit of the realm."

I prayed him to give me leave to answer him in these three points, which indeed, I said, contained the substance of your demands. And to the first, I told him, that I doubted not all men of reason would grant, that your majesty, having once the interest and marriage of her person, was most meet to have the guard and custody of her, for her chief surety and preservation. And I was sure, that the prince's grace of England was a marriage to be sued for and desired for the daughter of any king in Christendom, whose marriage I thought your majesty would not put in suspence upon a bare contract made in words or writings; nor yet was it meet that he should be matched with one that had no knowledge of the fashion and nouriture of England. And however it should please God to determine of him, yet was she to no man so tender as to your majesty, being, as she is, your near kinswoman; nor could be in any hands or custody more to her surety, nor that would provide and look better for her honour and advancement, than your majesty, as the instinct of nature requireth.

To the second, touching the amity and peace, I wondred much that he should not most willingly embrace that in such sort as your

majesty required, considering there was no amity so proper for them as the amity of England, nor so beneficial and necessary. Which being concluded upon so just and honest cause as this is, no friend they had could or ought be offended therewith ; neither France, I said, nor Denmark, which (they being at enmity with us) were and should be ever farthest from them when they should be nearest their harm. And by this league, I said, they should not seem specially to covenant against France nor Denmark. And here I remembred him also of such communication as he and I had since my coming hither of this matter, touching the benefit they had always gotten by France ; wherein I told him, I thought by that I had heard him say before in that part, he had been fully perswaded what small stead the amity of France stood them in, and what they had suffered for France ; so that I thought he had not been so much dedicate to France, as that for France he would seem to neglect or pretermitt this amity, that was so beneficial for them. Here he interrupted me, and said, “ That he desired more the amity of your majesty than of all France and all the princes of the world ; ” and said, “ that he thought the lords would stick but soberly at that matter for the conclusion of the peace, if the marriage were contracted ; but for the deliverance of the child out of the realm till she should be at the state and age of marriage, he thought it so sharp and unreasonable, that he could not agree to it.” Whereunto I pressed him by all the good means and perswasions I could, insomuch as I drave him to say, “ he could not answer me, and that he would not reason the matter with me, but refer it to the states and council of the realm, without whom he did nothing ; and if they would agree to it, he would not be against it.” Here I advised him to beware of the counsel and flattery of such as would his ruin, whatsoever countenance they make him, and take time whilst it serveth like a wise man, wherein he should do special good office to his country, and avoid the extremities which will else undoubtedly ensue, of their refusal to come to reason in these matters. Hereupon, musing a little, he said, “ he could not see what cause your majesty had to make war upon them,

being their sovereign lady an innocent, that never offended you." I answered, your majesty minded no war against her, but rather sought her surety, wealth, and preservation, with the union of those two realms, the opportunity and occasion whereof is offered unto you of God, which, they may be sure, your majesty will not pretermitt; and therefore, if they shall neglect her surety and honour, and the benefit of her realm, with also their own wealths, your majesty will direct your proceedings to the war in her quarrel for her surety and defence, and for the wealth of her realm against them, who, without consideration, do seem thus to contemn and neglect the same. He asked me, if I called it her benefit to destroy her realm? Whereunto I said, that I called it her benefit and great honour to be made a queen of two realms by a just and rightful title, where she had now scarce a good title to one. He wished to God that every man had his right, and that they were quite of our cumber. And then I pressed him again to apply himself to reason, in the satisfaction of your just and reasonable demands, whereby he might be sure to quite both these realms of cumber for ever. He said, "he would do as the rest of the noblemen of the realm would, who would assemble all here within a day or two; and then they would consult and devise upon such answer as should be made to their ambassadors, which they would determine and send with as much diligence as might be." I put him in mind how the time passed.

And finally I came to the third point, touching his government here, and told him, he might well perceive, by the overture your majesty made last unto him, that your grace favoured him in such sort, as shewing himself conformable, he must needs have great honour and benefit at your majesty's hands; which he confessed, and acknowledged himself much bound to your highness for the same, in such sort as he has done at other times before this. But surely I think he will never consent to the deliverance of the child within two years. And I perceive, that if it go by voices, as the fashion of their council is, it will not be granted; for the bishops and their adherents make the

number in the council, which I think will grant nothing willingly, that should tend to the conjunction and amity of these two realms, but desire rather utter enmity; and, as I understand, wish for the war, rather than any good agreement. After I departed from the governour, I spake with the earls of Angus, Glencairn, and Cassils, and declared unto them partly, how I found the governour; and they assured me, "That he was nothing minded to your majesty's purpose; and therefore, as they would procure as many noblemen of the council as they could to give their voices with them, to prevail that way if they can; so they will make themselves strong, to be master of this town if they can at this assembly, and will work what they may, by all means, to bring all things to pass after your majesty's desires; which if they will not be obtained but by extremity, they will serve your majesty to the uttermost of their powers, according to their promises." The earl of Cassils said, "He lacked nothing but silver, to wage his men which he kepted about him;" as they all said, "they must be at charge to keep so many men together, which they would nevertheless bear to their powers, knowing they served a good master that could consider it;" which I affirmed with such words as I thought convenient. The earl of Glencairn went from the court with me towards my lodging, and by the way we communed of those matters, if they should grow to the wars, what service he would do: wherein he saith, "He will take it upon him to convoy your majesty's army from Carlile to Glasgow without stroak, being almost an hundred miles; and if your majesty make proclamation, whilst your army is in Scotland, to preserve and accept such as will come in to your majesty, he thinketh your highness shall so win a great part of this realm without stroak; specially if your majesty's army do use no burning nor spoiling in the country, but take up such corn, and cattle, and all other victuals as they find, to be preserved for such garrisons as must remain within the realm in winter, for the guard of such parts of the same, and of such fortresses as your majesty shall conquer in the summer; for else, if the country be all wasted, burned, and spoiled, the garrisons shall not be able to re-

main for lack of victual." This he prayed me to write to your majesty as his opinion: And then falling into communication of the governor, the earl of Glencairn told me, "that he was neither wise, constant, nor politick, and had no title to the crown of this realm; for he was a bastard undoubtedly."* Whereunto I said, that I marvelled then, what moved them to make him governor, and specially to establish him second person of the realm. He answered, "That, for his part, he had neither given his voice to it, his hand, nor his seal, nor yet was sworn to it as the rest were, and he took that establishment to be of none effect;" for he said, "that a parliament could not give away the right of a kingdom from the true inheritor of the crown of the same. It was," he said, "a special cast above all other, wherein the parliament had none authority." Thus have I signified unto your majesty the estate of those things, as far as I can yet learn; but what is to be hoped certainly of the success of the same, I cannot tell. It is thought that it will be condescended, that your majesty shall have barons of this realm pledges for the delivery of the child, when she shall be of lawful age to be married, or peradventure at eight or nine years of age; and also that the perpetual peace shall be agreed, in such sort as your majesty desireth: But for her deliverance within those two years, it is thought assuredly, it will not be granted without extremity. At this assembly it shall appear what will be granted, which I shall diligently observe, and advertise from time to time, as the case shall require. And also, according to my most bounden duty, shall use all the ways and means I can, to the uttermost of my poor wit, for the conducing of those matters to such end as your majesty desireth, as knoweth our Lord; to whom I shall daily pray for the preservation

* James Hamilton, first earl of Arran, father of the governor, was thrice married; first, to Beatrix Drummond, by whom he had a daughter; second, to Janet, sister of Alexander earl of Home, from whom he was divorced; third, Janet, daughter of sir David Bethune, by whom he had the governor. Now as this son was born during the lifetime of the divorced countess, his legitimacy depended on the validity of the divorce, which Glencairn seems to have disputed.

of your most royal person, in long life and prosperous estate of health most feliciously to endure.

To the King's Majesty, 22d April, 1543.

Please it your royal majesty to understand, that very early this morning came to me sir George Douglas, and shewed me, that the governour was clearly altered from your majesty, and will surely revolt to the cardinal, the earls of Lennox, Huntley, Argyle, and Murray, and the clergy, to his own utter confusion. In which part the said sir George telleth me, "he hath been very plain with the governour, and shewed him the dangers thereof, but all will not help; in so much as the said governour hath not only put away his friers preachers, which he hath all this while defended, and kept about him to preach the word of God, but also hath secretly sent to the said cardinal and earls, being of the adverse party, and wholly at the cast of France, which will be here all to-night or to-morrow, to come hither very strongly." So that the said sir George saith, "It is time for his brother and him, with the rest that be assured to your majesty, to look to themselves, as he doubteth not they will be strong enough with the grace of God." And here he seemed to be somewhat moved with the lord Maxwell that he is not yet come, notwithstanding that he hath sent oft for him. He told me, "I should see such a meeting, as was never seen at parliament or council; for every man was preparing jacks and spears, and if they fight not or they depart, it shall be a great wonder; wishing that I were at home, for my being here was to little purpose, as the case standeth." Nevertheless, he warranted me, "that your majesty's servants and friends here shall defend me from harm, as long as they might prevail; and, though they were overthrown, yet the others could not for shame but preserve me." I told him, it should be good they handled me well, for I served a master that was able to revenge my quarrel, and as they used me, their ambassadors, being in England,

should be used in the same sort. And he advised me indeed to write to your majesty, that their ambassadors might not depart out of England, till your majesty were sure of me; "for," he saith, "they labour to come home, and have written plainly, that they be out of hope of agreement." And also he advised me, to write all such letters as I should write from henceforth in cypher; for the governour findeth fault with my servants posting in and out to Berwick, and therefore it is good to prevent the danger of the interruption of my letters.

Then we began somewhat to discourse of the estate of these affairs; wherein he told me, "that he had laboured all this while to bring all things to good pass in quiet and peaceable manner; but seeing it will not be, whereof he is most sorry, he will serve your majesty like a true gentleman, according to his bounden duty, in so much as if your majesty will extend your force, sending your royal army, and stick to your poor servants and friends here, which else shall be undone, he doubteth not but his brother and he, the earls of Glencairn and Cassils, and the lord Maxwell, with their friends, shall deliver into your majesty's hands all the country on this side the water of Forth this summer. In which case," he said, "your majesty must preserve and defend the country from burning and spoiling, and come in as a conquerour, making proclamations to defend all such as will submit themselves; whereby your majesty," he saith, "shall not only win the people's hearts, by preserving them from spoil, but also have the better commodity of victuals for such garrisons as must remain here in the winter, for the guard of such conquest as your majesty shall make this summer. And here," he said, "he trusted to have occasion to repair now to your majesty, for at this assembly they would determine to make an answer to your majesty. And if it be such as may be acceptable, he will go most gladly; if not, yet if they will have him go, he will not refuse it, because he may thereby have the commodity to declare unto your majesty the estate of all this country, with his poor mind and opinion how your majesty shall provide for the conquest of the same;" whereof, I told him, I would advertise your majesty. And

then I asked him, whether he thought not that the governour would grow to any reasonable point in the satisfaction of your majesty's demands? Whereunto he answered me, "that the governour was so far gone, so fickle and inconstant, that he durst promise nothing of him, for now revolting to the other party, which be all French, he will surely be of the same cast, and then undoubtedly will agree to nothing that may be against France." Again, he saith, "they will not surely agree to the deliverance of the child till she be of lawful age. And as for pledges in the mean season, he is in great doubt that the same will be granted; for he thinketh, that such pledges as were meet to be accepted of your majesty, will not ly out of the realm for any such purpose; so that he is far out of hope that your majesty shall be answered to your satisfaction. The abbot of Paisley," he saith, "hath been the only cause of the governour's alteration; which abbot is all for France, and the cardinal's great friend; and, since his coming home, the governour hath been altogether ruled by him."

This is the effect of the discourse had this morning betwixt the said sir George and me, which I thought meet to signify unto your majesty; as from time to time, whilst I am here, I shall not fail to advertise how all things proceed, as I shall get knowledge accordingly. And thus, &c.

To the King's Majesty, 26th April, 1543.

Please it your royal majesty to understand, that since my last letters addressed to the same, here hath been much ado, and great controversy made by those great lords of the adverse party to your majesty to come to this town, because they might not be suffered to bring with them such force and company as they had assembled, which was forfended unto them, and proclamations made to the contrary by commandment of the governour; who, albeit he was almost altered from your majesty, and ready to revolt to the other party, hath been so

stayed and perswaded, both with fair means and also some threatenings by the earls of Angus, Glencairn, and Cassils, the lords Maxwell and Somervail, and sir George Douglas, that he is now, as they tell me, well determined to remain with them at the cast of England, as they call it; in which case, their trust is, that your majesty will relent in some part of your demands; that is to say, in the hasty delivery of the child, which, they say, will not be granted till she be of lawful age, or within a year or two of the same, but pledges, in the mean season, your majesty shall have for the security of her deliverance at that time. And now the earls of Lennox and Argyle be come hither, and an outward agreement taken betwixt the earl of Angus and the said earl of Lennox, and all things treated among them in peaceable and quiet manner; so that, hitherto, they agree well on all parts, notwithstanding there was a while great appearance to the contrary. The earl of Huntley is still at home in the north parts of this realm, where he hath much ado with my lord Forbes, who hath slain many of the said earl's men.* The difference betwixt them is for land, which the late king here took from the said lord Forbes, and gave it to the said earl of Huntley, and others of his sirname, called the Gordons. And now the said lord Forbes intendeth, if he can, to recover his land again with the sword; for other law or justice here hath little place, as far as I see. The earl of Murray is here; and it appeareth unto me that he is well dedicate unto your majesty; and also the earls of Glencairn and Cassils, and the lord Somervail (who have well wrought the said earl of Murray to that purpose) do tell me, "that he will surely leave the cast of France, and is agreeable to a good part of your majesty's demands."

This day, in the morning, the governour sent for me, being the earl of Lennox also appointed to come at the same instant to the court,

* An ancient hereditary feud, between the families of Gordon and Forbes, had been aggravated by the catastrophe of John, master of Forbes, who, in 1537, was accused of high treason by the earl of Huntley, condemned, and executed. The grants of land to which Sadler alludes, probably followed from this trial. There was, however, no confiscation of the estate of lord Forbes, who was released soon after the execution of his son.

both to make his agreement with the earl of Angus, and also to declare such commission and credence as he hath from the French king. And at my coming to the court, the governour told me, "that he had sent for me, to pray me to write to your majesty his excuse in this long delay of the answer to your majesty's demands; the cause whereof was the slow coming in of the lords, which, he doubted not, I perceived well enough, and what difficulty they made to come; but now," he said, "they were all come, saving the cardinal and the earl of Huntley. And for the earl of Huntley they would not tarry, nor yet for the cardinal, who," he said, "durst not come, for fear he should be eftsoons apprehended: yet, whether he would come or not, he could not tell; but to-morrow they would go about their consultation, and devise such an answer to your majesty's demands, as, he trusted, (if your grace were not too sharp or unreasonable,) should content you." I prayed God they might devise an answer to your majesty's satisfaction, which I thought would not be, if they should refuse to accomplish your highness's desires, which, I doubted not, he had now so well digested, as he perceived them to be both very reasonable, as also most necessary and beneficial for this realm. He sware a great oath, "that he thought them most unreasonable, and so sharp, as, he assured me, there was not one person in Scotland, neither man, woman, nor child, that had any reason, but they had all lever die in one day than they would grant the same. Nevertheless, your majesty should have such reason offered unto you, as, he trusted, your highness would not refuse; and, within two or three days at the farthest, he would dispatch their answer." With this came the earl of Lennox, whom the governour welcomed, and I also saluted him with an embracing after the French form. And then the governour told me apart, "that he was come to declare his credence from the French king, which he would advertise me of as soon as he knew what it was, saying, that he and the rest of the lords would first go make agreement betwixt the earl of Angus and the said earl of Lennox, and then they would go to

the council together to hear his credence; praying me eftsoons to write to your majesty the excuse of this delay of their answer, which," he said, "I might perceive was not feigned; and at afternoon he would not fail to send me word of the earl of Lennox credence;" and so I departed, leaving them going together about the said agreement, which, I think, will not long endure.

At afternoon, the governour sent unto me David Panter, who was lately with your majesty; and he told me from the said governour, "that the earl of Lennox had declared his said credence, which was, in effect, that the French king required the estates of the realm to consider their old leagues with France, and to observe the same for their part as he would do for his; and in case your majesty should invade them, he would give them aid, with men, money, and munition, in such sort as they would reasonably desire; and, at the least, if they should agree with your majesty, that then they would comprehend him in such league and treaty as they should make with your highness: And this," he said, "was the effect of all his credence, which the governour willed him to declare unto me;" and also I have other intelligence that the same is true.

I have had, since my last letters addressed to your majesty, sundry conferences with the earls of Cassils and Glencairn, the lords Maxwell and Somervail, who have declared unto me, "as well how much ado they have had with the governour to stay him from revolt to the other party; as also how they have wrought him, so as he is now in a good towardness; trusting, that if your majesty will somewhat relent in your demands, all shall be well. And this," they say, "the governour is come to for his part, that your majesty shall have pledges for the deliverance of the child when she shall be of lawful age, or within a year or two of the same, which," they think, "is to be accepted of your majesty, having such pledges and security for her deliverance at that time, whereby the marriage may take effect." Touching the peace, they say, "the whole realm murmureth, that they had rather die than break their old leagues with France," as indeed there goeth a great ru-

mour for the same : “ but they will so join in amity with your majesty, as France shall have no stead nor benefit by them ; and they trust to bring it to such pass, as every man here that list shall be at liberty to serve your majesty for your money against France and all others : Which two things, if your majesty will take now for the first entry, they think assuredly, that within a while there should grow such amity within these two realms, as your majesty should have your whole purpose.” And touching the governour, who your majesty is content should use the place during the minority of the young queen, if he continue such devotion and inclination to your majesty and the wealth of both those realms, as he seemeth now to have ; foreseeing also, that he use the advice and counsel of such persons as your majesty shall think best for the wealth of both realms. To that they say, “ that the governour and the other lords here do interpret by the same, that your majesty mindeth to establish an English council here to rule and direct them, which they will not admit. But they think, that if your majesty minded thereby none other, but that the governour should be advised by the counsel of certain of the nobility and wise counsellors of this realm only, that surely should be most acceptable to all the lords and noblemen here. To this point,” they say, “ these matters will come as they trust ; and also,” they think, “ that sir George Douglas, or some other wise gentleman, shall repair to your majesty in post, with such resolution and answer as they shall now make : And if thereupon it shall appear that your majesty will agree with them, they will send some noble personages to knit up all those matters, as the importance of the same requireth.”

I bear them still in hand, that your majesty will not relent in any part of your desires, the same being so reasonable as they ought not to be refused here. “ In which case,” they say, “ your majesty must then win the same by force, for otherwise it will not be granted ; and, if it come to that point, they will serve your majesty as they have promised.” But here they complained much of the lack of silver to bear their charges withall ; saying, “ that the entertainment of such compa-

nies, as they keep here about them, is so chargeable to them, as, without your majesty's help, they be not able to sustain it; and yet," say they, "if they had not had such force and strength here with them, as whereby they might be able to be too strong a party for the other side, it was very like that the governour would have left them, and also percease would have devised to have betrapped some of them." I told them, they might be sure their service could not be lost; for your majesty was a prince of such honour, as both could and would consider every man's service, and reward the same accordingly;—which he confessed. And the lord Maxwell told me apart, "That indeed he lacked silver, and had no way of relief but to your majesty;" which he prayed me to signify unto the same. I asked him, what would relieve him? and he said 300*l.*; "for the which," he said, "as your majesty seemed, when he was with your grace, to have him in more trust and credit than the rest of your majesty's prisoners, so he trusted to do you as good service as any of them; and amongst them they will do you such service, as, if the war succeed, ye shall make an easy conquest of this realm; as for his part, he shall deliver into your hands, at the entry of your army, the keys of the same on the west marches, being all the strong-holds there in his custody." I offered him presently to write to my lord of Suffolk for 100*l.* for him, if he would; but he said, "he would stay till he heard again from your majesty in that behalf." Also the earl of Glencairn, and the said lord Maxwell, asked me, "Whether I had answer from your majesty for the changing of their pledges?" saying, "they had a marvellous great lack of their eldest sons." I told them, I had no word thereof. And then the lord Maxwell swore a great oath, "that he thought your majesty had them in some suspicion; and yet, for all that, they would be true men to your majesty." The earl of Glencairn prayed me "to write to your majesty, and to beseech the same for the passion of God, to encourage them so much, as to give them trust, for they were already commonly hated here for your majesty's sake, and throughout the realm called the English lords; and such ballads and songs made of them, how the English

angels had corrupted them, as have not been heard; so, as they have almost lost the hearts of the common people of this realm, and be also suspected of the governour and nobility of the same; and if your majesty should also mistrust them, they were in a hard case: Wherefore, seeing they were minded, as indeed they would serve your majesty with their bodies, goods, and all their power, according to their band and promise, from which they will never vary nor digress, they beseech your majesty to give them trust and credit, which, if they may perceive, shall be most to their comfort;" wherein I did as much as I could to satisfy them. And, to say my poor opinion of them to your majesty, surely, if men may be trusted by their words and promises, by constant asseverations and oaths, they will shew and prove themselves true gentlemen to your majesty; for it is not possible for men to declare themselves in appearance more earnest, nor better determined in that part, than they do; though they labour nevertheless for the satisfaction of your majesty in quiet manner, if by any good means it may be brought to pass. And I see not but the earls of Angus, of Glencairn, and Cassils, the lords Maxwell and Somervail, and sir George Douglas, do adhere firmly together, and draw all by one line, who undoubtedly had a great band of gentlemen, and others their friends, tenants, and servants belonging unto them, in a manner the whole strength of this country on this side the water of Forth.

The sheriff of Ayr,* and the laird of Brunstoun, have been sundry times with me since they came home, which greatly pretend their service unto your majesty. And the earl of Glencairn telleth me, "that the sheriff (who is a man of good power) is wholly bent and determined to take such part as he doth with your majesty." Wherefore he much desireth, "that it might please your majesty to write a letter to the earl of Cassils, that likeas he hath given truce to the said sheriff till Lammas, at your majesty's request, so he will be contented also to commit the matters in question betwixt them to the hearing

* Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudoun, sheriff of Ayr.

and determination of friends here, to be indifferently chosen for the same; to the intent that they being made at one, may the better joyn as friends together in your majesty's service; which," the said earl of Glencairn saith, "the earl of Cassils would gladly do, if your majesty would write him such a letter for that purpose." Surely the sheriff seemeth to be much dedicate to your majesty; and that will the rather move the earl of Cassils to agree with him, as the same earl himself hath said to me; and for his part he committeth the whole matter to your majesty, to be ordained and determined, as it shall please your highness to appoint.

Finally, the bishop of Orkney* came to me this afternoon, and told me, "that as he came now hither out of his country, he came by the cardinal, who desireth much to speak with me; and if he do come hither, whereof he is in doubt, fearing eftsoons to be entrapped, he would not fail to speak with me; but if he come not hither, if then I would vouchsafe to make an errand to St Andrew's, and speak with him, I should have good cause, he trusted, to think my journey well bestowed." I answered in effect, as I did lately answer the cardinal's chaplain, to wit, that it was not meet for me to resort to speak with him, not knowing in what terms or estate he standeth. And then the bishop prayed me to advise thereupon, and began to persuade me, "That the cardinal was much addicted to your majesty, and was the sorrowfullest man alive to hear that your majesty was displeased with him, which he protested was without cause, as he was able to prove, whatsoever information was made to your grace against him: And if he might come frankly to this council without danger, to say his opinion in those great matters, for the common weal of this realm, he

* Robert Reid, bishop of Orkney, a dignity which he attained in 1540. He is said by Keith to have been a man of learning, and an admirable politician. He was one of the commissioners who witnessed the marriage of Queen Mary with the Dauphin of France, 1553, and died at Dieppe on his return. As the earl of Cassils, who is mentioned in these dispatches, who was also of the commission, expired on the same night, they were supposed to have been poisoned for expressing reluctance to confer the crown matrimonial on the bridegroom.

would declare himself of good zeal to bring all your reasonable desires to good pass, and labour as well, and as effectually in the same, as any man alive." This the said bishop of Orkney told me, whereof I thought meet to advertise your majesty ; but unless your grace shall command me, I intend not to speak with the cardinal, except he come hither to the court, so as I cannot avoid him. As yet I cannot learn any certainty of those matters ; but within these two days it will appear what is to be trusted to and looked for at their hands ; which knowing, I shall not fail, with God's grace, to advertise the same to your majesty with all possible diligence.

And where I understand by my friend Mr Wriothesley,* that your majesty hath determined to alleviate and disburden me of the office of secretary ; for the which, as I am most unmeet and unworthy, so most insufficient to supply the charge and authority of such place ; and also that, in recompence of such profits and livings as I shall forego in that part, it hath likewise pleased your majesty, of your clemency and goodness, to determine towards me the office which the lord Windsor lately had, in your majesty's great gardrobe : I do therefore, upon my knees, and prostrate at the feet of your most royal majesty, render unto the same my most humble and lowly thanks ; and, according to my most bounden duty, shall daily pray to Almighty God for the preservation of your most noble person, in long life, and prosperous estate of health, most feliciously and victoriously to reign the years of Nestor. &c.

To the King's Majesty, 1st May, 1543.

Please it your royal majesty to understand, that yesterday I received your most gracious letters of the 25th of April ; at the receipt where-

* Thomas Wriothesley, created lord Wriothesley of Tichbourn, and afterwards earl of Southampton. He was educated to the law, became chancellor in 1544, and died in 1550.

of, the governour, and the rest of the nobility here assembled, were at the point of the conclusion of their answer to your majesty's demands; for the conducing whereof to such end as your majesty desireth, I have done as much as my poor wit would serve me, though it lieth not in me to bring it fully to that point. And I have in that behalf communed apart with the earls of Murray and Argyle, who were noted all for France, and also with the earl marishal, who hath ever borne a singular good affection to your majesty. Which three, if I could have won to those that be already assured to your majesty, all the rest, save the kirkmen, I think would have gone the same way. I promised them largely on your majesty's behalf, in general terms; but yet I could not frame them to my purpose. The earls of Murray and Argyle were at the first directly against the delivery of the child, or pledges; but with pledges they be now well content, and say expressly, "That they mind nothing more than that the marriage should take effect, which they wish for with all their hearts, as the thing that righteously," they say, "shall knit both these realms in one dominion; but until the same shall be so united, by consummation of the marriage, they will preserve the liberty and freedom of this realm to the uttermost of their power; wherein they will employ and spend their lives:"—thinking "that your majesty, having the child once delivered into your hands, had also forthwith the obedience and subjection of the realm:" Reciting all such other inconveniences which might happen upon her being out of her own realm, as I have heretofore written unto your majesty. And notwithstanding all the perswasions and promises I could make unto them, I could not remove them from that mind and opinion. They protest unto me, "That they covet and desire no prince's amity in the world so much as your majesty's; and that they will do what stead and service they can to your highness, not offending their duty of allegiance unto their sovereign lady, and the liberty and freedom of the realm. As for France, they might not declare themselves enemy to France, but they would take no part with them, nor no other prince or potentate in the world against your ma-

jesty." And this was all I could get of them, notwithstanding all the perswasions I could use unto them. And yet the earl of Cassils hath travelled much with the said earl of Murray, to bring him to this perfection, to grant pledges, which he was very far from at the first. The earl Marishal was more frank with me, and said, "If your majesty accept the contract of marriage in such sort as it shall be offered," that is to say, "with pledges for the performance of the same, and deliverance of the child about her lawful age, he will surely serve your highness against France." Also the said earl of Murray said unto me, "That if it might please your grace to accept and embrace these things at the first, in such sort as they might perceive, your majesty went about to win them by love and kindness, there was no doubt but, as time did alter many things, so by time that the noblemen of this realm had acquaintance of your majesty, your grace might by dulce and gentle means come by your whole purpose, which by the wars your majesty should find very difficile to be obtained; notwithstanding," he said, "that the prisoners had promised you very largely such things as he knew they were not able to perform."

The governour himself is now wholly on your majesty's party; and yesterday, at four of the clock in the afternoon, he sent for me, and told me, "That never man had so much ado as he had to bring the nobility of this realm to any reasonable point or conformity, for the satisfaction of your majesty's desires; and the traitor bishops," he said, "would grant to no part of the same, but the earls of Murray and Argyle were now good and reasonable gentlemen. As for the earl of Bothwell," he said, "your majesty had ill bestowed your liberality upon him, for he was directly against all your majesty's demands; alledging, that he would forsake Scotland, France, and England, for ever, rather than he would consent to lay pledges for the performance of the marriage:" which undoubtedly he said openly before all the council, as both the earls of Angus and Cassils to me. Nevertheless the said governour said, "That with much difficulty he had won all the noblemen, and brought them to such point, that they had resolved, it was

better to lay pledges than to have the war; whereupon," he said, "they had agreed, that your majesty should have good pledges, as earls and lords of this realm, for the perfection of this marriage, and deliverance of the young queen within a year or two of her lawful age. And for the peace," he said, "they stuck so hard upon the observation of their leagues with France, that he could not induce them to such conclusion with your majesty, as to be friend to friend, and enemy to enemy; but whensoever your majesty had to do with France, they would nevertheless be assured friends to your majesty, and take no part against you, nor yet receipt, comfort, or maintain any of your grace's enemies; and this," he said, "was all he could bring them to, if his life lay upon it. And yet," he said, "he had laid reason unto them, that it were even as good for them to covenant expressly against France, as to promise to your majesty, that they will take no part with France; in which case they shall be sure to lose their friendship and estimation with France for ever, and thereby percase so move, and give occasion of war to France against them, that they shall be enforced thereby to seek aid of your majesty, which if they refuse now to be friend to friend, and enemy to enemy, your highness is not bound to give unto them. And," quoth he, "if France or Denmark work us any cumber, there is no doubt but we must come then on our knees, and beseech his majesty, that we may be friend to friend, and enemy to enemy. This reason," he said, "with all the perswasions he could alledge, he used with them, which nevertheless they would not favour." I told him, I thought they would be content to do as he would have them: But he sware a great oath, "He could not perswade them to it, for all that he could do; as," he doubted not, "the earl of Angus, my lord Maxwell, and others, which were," he said, "assured to your majesty, could tell me what he had done in that behalf." Wherefore he prayed me, with his cap in his hand, as instantly as he could, "to write his good mind to your majesty, and that he desired nothing in this world so much, as to have your majesty his good and gracious lord; most humbly beseeching the same to accept and embrace these offers now at the first

entry, and though they be not so fully to your satisfaction as your majesty desireth;" yet he sware a great oath, "that whilst he is governour, your highness being his good lord, and supporting him, he will not fail, as time shall serve, to satisfy your majesty in all the rest of your demands, which cannot now be obtained, with all the stead and service, that shall ly in the uttermost of his power. And out of hand," he told me, "he would send the lord Maxwell and sir George Douglas to your majesty, both with those offers, and also to desire the marriage of your highness's daughter for his son, whom he would also send to your majesty upon knowledge of your highness's pleasure, to be brought up and educate in your court for that purpose; wherein," he said, "your majesty had offered him such honour, as, whilst he lived, how soever things come to pass, he must needs bear you his heart and service." Assuring me also, "That if those matters were at a good point, he would not lett to post to London, without a safe-conduct, to see your majesty, and to render his most humble thanks unto your highness, with heart and service for the same during his life." And here again he prayed me, "To write with diligence unto your majesty, and to express his good mind to please the same, as effectually as I could devise." Which, I assure your majesty, I cannot set forth with the pen more earnestly, than he declared it to me by his word and countenance, and with great oaths also bound the same. And ever he inculked unto me, (which I was wont to perswade him,) "That those kirk-men loved him not, and did all they could to impeach this agreement betwixt your majesty and him, and also to set all the noblemen of this realm against it; so that by their engine and policy they had so wrought those things, as it was not possible for him to satisfy your majesty's desires at this time; but," he said, "his trust was, that your highness would embrace that which now might be had, being sufficient for your purpose; for you should have good pledges for the performance of the marriage, and have them of this realm to be your assured friends for ever, and also your majesty should have his son and heir in your court, who, by succession, is inheritable to the crown of this

realm; which things he trusted your majesty would not refuse." And then he said, "those things being agreed upon, he doubted not, by your majesty's aid and good support, to be master of them, which now be almost masters of all this realm, and to bring the same to such due obedience as appertaineth; and, whilst he is governour, your majesty shall be assured to have of him whatsoever he can or may do, to the satisfaction of all your grace's desires." These words he uttered to me very effectually. And as to the kirk-men, I assure your majesty they seek the war by all the means they can, and do daily entertain the noblemen with money and rewards to sustain the wars, rather than there should be any agreement with your majesty; thinking, verily, that if peace and unity succeed, that they shall be reformed, and lose their glory, which they had rather die, and put all this realm in hazard, than they would forego. The earl of Lennox also procureth here all that he can for France, offering himself to remain prisoner, and to lose his life, if the French king do not accomplish such things as he hath offered; that is to say, money, men, munition, ships, and all that they will desire, to resist therewithall their ancient enemies of England.

This morning, at five of the clock, came to me sir George Douglas, and told me, "That the kirk-men (who had lever all the world should sink, than they lose their pomp and glory) had wrought those matters in such sort, as it was not possible to satisfy your grace's demands at this time, albeit the governour were now as well minded to your majesty as could be desired; but with such conclusions, as the greatest number of the noblemen of the temporality had resolved, the governour and nobility of this realm," he said, "were determined to send the lord Maxwell and him to your majesty indelayedly. Wherefore he came to me to know mine opinion, and to ask my counsel, whether I thought it best for him to go or not? alledging, that if I had any hope that the conclusions here taken should please your majesty, he would then come to the same with as glad a heart as any man alive. And two things," he said, "moved him the rather to be content to go; one was, that your majesty, besides good pledges for the deliverance of the

young queen within two years of her lawful age, should have the governour's son (who, if the said young queen fail, shall be prince of this land) into your court for your majesty's daughter, which," he thinketh, "is the best pledge your grace can devise to have, for the better attaining of all your whole purpose in time. And though your majesty have not presently all your demands satisfied, yet having security for performance of the marriage, with also the governour's son as is aforesaid, and such English-men and Scottish-men about the person of the young queen here as your highness shall appoint, being the governour also so well minded to your majesty as he is, there is no doubt but very shortly you shall have all your desires at your own pleasure, whereof he seeth great likelihood: For the governour, being the peace once agreed, and those matters brought to some good point, must be enforced to depend upon your majesty, or else shall he never be able, without your support, to occupy his place. And sure it is, that the earl of Lennox and the clergy, with divers other noblemen, their adherents and complices, will make a party, and will not fail to put at him what they can; so that he must of force come so far within your majesty's danger, for your aid and supportation, as ye shall have occasion to work him at your will. Which things being well inculked to your majesty, he thinketh might move the same the rather to embrace that is now offered, being almost impossible to get any more at this time, as the clergy, and present offers of France, with a great number of the greatest men of this realm, being now present at this consultation, hath wrought their purpose. The second cause why he is the rather content to go, is, that in case your majesty shall refuse these offers, he may nevertheless confer with your highness upon the estate of this country, and say his poor mind how the same is to be conquered by force:" And therefore he told me, "He had lever have the earl of Glencairn with him than the lord Maxwell, because the said earl is a man of deep judgment, and could," he thought, "better satisfy your majesty with reason, both in the one part and in the other; that is to say, either for peace or war, whichsoever shall please your highness to

embrace." Herein he prayed mine advice; and as I considered the estate of these matters how they stood, so I thought it not amiss that they should repair to your majesty for the said purposes, whereby I thought your majesty could lose no time, supposing, that though the wars succeed, your grace cannot conveniently send an army before July; and in the mean season preparing all things, as I understand your majesty doth for the furniture thereof, your highness shall rather win advantage of those men than lose time, for here they make no preparation for defence. Wherefore I advised the said sir George to repair to your majesty, and also thought it best, that the earl of Glencairn should go with him, for the causes expressed; as indeed I know, that the said earl of Glencairn and sir George be very great, and they be both wise men to confer with your majesty upon these matters; and if they be not true men, and assured to your majesty, then is there no Scottish-man to be trusted.

The earl of Glencairn of late commended much the said sir George's wit, and told me, "that though the same sir George were assured to your majesty, and would undoubtedly do as his brother and the rest which were bound by promise would do; yet he thought not amiss, that your majesty should cause the said sir George to subscribe, and set his hand to such writings as they had done, to the intent, being all of one mind to serve your majesty, they might likewise be all under one bond and promise." Wherein your majesty, at his now repair unto you, may taste him, if the case so require, as to your high wisdom shall be thought convenient. I have foreborn to charge him at this time with his promises to your majesty, according to the continue of your highness's said letters, fearing I should thereby have too much discouraged him; specially now that he is to repair to your majesty, assuring the same, that at this time the governour, being ready to revolt to the other party, hath been in effect only stayed by the said sir George.* And it is not possible (as I am informed) for a man to do

* Hume of Godscroft says, that sir George told the Scottish nobles the apologue of the physician, who, to escape the wrath of a tyrannical sultan, undertook to teach an ass to

more with wit than he hath done, to bring your majesty's desires to pass, if it would have been ; and he alone, against all the clergy in open council, hath reasoned and disputed so much for the advancement of the same, as the kirk-men would give 10,000*l.* to have him destroyed, whereof I am credibly informed : as indeed he hath lately escaped a hazard at St Andrews ; and the laird of Craigy (who is now fled into England for fear) should have been the executer ; not without the consent of the cardinal, as is supposed. Surely I know the whole clergy do hate him deadly ; and, undoubtedly, he never denied unto me, that he had promised unto your majesty his service and subjection ; but when his brother was sworn, he saith " he took none oath, but promised his service without oath ; which he will bear to your highness as assuredly as he that is ten times sworn." And to say how I have found him, surely I never could perceive but that he laboured always to bring those matters to pass like a wise man, as one that would most gladly have satisfied your majesty, and also have pleased this realm, if it would have been ; but if it should come to extremity, I never saw but he intended to be as forward to serve your majesty as any of the rest. And surely, even now at this busy time, he hath shewed himself, in my poor opinion, most ready and willing to do all that was possible to be done for your highness's satisfaction ; and all the rest of your highness's party here do use him, and take him as one of their band most assured to your majesty : And therefore I thought it not best to propone any displeasing matter unto him, whereby he might conceive any discourage, specially when he looketh ra-

speaking within the course of ten years ; and justified the hopeless undertaking to his friends, by saying, that he had gained a space, within which either the king or the ass, or he himself, might die, in any of which events he escaped final punishment, and meantime lived in good estate and favour. " Even so," said Douglas, " we being unprovided for war, gain by this treaty ten years of peace ; during which, king Henry or his son, or the queen, may die, or the parties coming of age may refuse each other, or matters may so stand that the match may be concluded on more equal terms."---GODSCROFT, Vol. II. p. 113. edit. 1743.---Sir George, in boasting of the effects of his eloquence, probably did not pique himself to Sadler upon the nature of his arguments and illustration.

ther for thanks of your majesty, wherein, at his now repair to your highness, your majesty may in such sort use and entertain him, after your accustomed benignity, as your grace shall think most meet and requisite.

This day I have also spoken with the earls of Angus, Glencairn, and Cassils, and with the lords Maxwell and Somervail, according to the continue of your majesty's said letters. And albeit since mine advertisements, whereupon your majesty wrote your said letters, things have changed and altered here, as your majesty now perceiveth; nevertheless, I thought it not amiss to confer with the said earls and lords upon the points of the said letters. And considering that their demeure here is most necessary, till these matters be at some conclusion, which cannot be afore their day of entry being at hand, I declared unto them, that your majesty had prolonged their day until midsummer; and also the considerations whereupon your highness had determined the same, which they thought to serve to special good purpose. And besides that, knowing that they had been now at great charge with abiding in this town, and also with retaining of good numbers of men about them, which here is chargeable, I thought it good to tell them, that your majesty, of your own mere motion and benignity, hath sent every of them a remembrance for their costs and charges now sustained: assuring them, that God giving unto your majesty the accomplishment of your good purpose, they and their posterity should have cause to confess that they served a most gracious master; which they took in marvellous good part, and most humbly thanked your majesty for the same. And though the case be changed, and all things now in so good quietness, as they need not to be at such charge in retaining of force presently, as was thought if the governour had revolted; yet because they have been at charge, and had complained to me for lack of silver, as indeed I know they be but poor men, and none rich here to speak of but kirk-men; I therefore thought it best, for the better encouraging of them to serve, to bestow your highness's liberality upon them, as proceeding of your majesty's own

mere remembrance. And so I told every of them apart, what your highness had determined in that behalf; that is to say, to every of the two earls of Cassils and Glencairn three hundred merks; and your majesty having committed the rest to my discretion, because the lord Maxwell had required a relief of 300l. as in my last letters to your majesty appeareth; I thought best to tell him, that your highness had now of himself remembred him with three hundred merks, which coming in such sort unasked was better than 300l., and yet if he would tarry till he should hear again from your majesty, I would write what he desired. He answered me, "that he esteemed that 200l. so sent of your own remembrance, better than 1000l. otherwise bestowed upon him, and prayed me to speak nothing of his further demand." Also, I told the lord Somervail, that your majesty had sent him two hundred merks. And thus I have bestowed so much of your majesty's liberality, in such sort as none of them knoweth by me what another hath. And I think 100l. were not amiss bestowed on the earl Marishal; for surely I think, if those matters come to force, he will take such part as the earl of Angus doth; and so it is told me secretly: wherefore, knowing your majesty's pleasure in that behalf, I shall ensue the same accordingly. And my lord of Cassils telleth me, that money will also tempt the earl of Murray,* who is no rich man; but that must be with a greater sum than any of the rest have; for the which, it is thought, he might be easily induced to enter himself for one of the pledges for the performance of the marriage. Furthermore, I entred with the said earls of Angus, Glencairn, and Cassils, and the lords Maxwell and Somervail, touching their advice, where your majesty's army should enter by sea and land, with declaration of your majesty's pleasure unto them for the secrecy of the same, and also how your majesty intended therein to use them as your principal counsellors. Whereupon they debated, "wishing, that if the war succeeded, your majesty do so look

* James Stuart, earl of Murray, was natural son of James IV. He died at his castle of Tarnoway in 1544, and the earldom reverted to the crown, where, notwithstanding some claims of the house of Gordon, it remained until it was conferred on the celebrated Prior of St Andrews, afterwards regent.

afore hand to the furniture of your army with victual, and all things necessary, as the same may be able to remain and continue within this realm for the accomplishment of your majesty's purpose. And it was their part," they said, "to devise for the surety of that army, and your majesty's prosperity in your enterprize; for if it should quail, it should be their undoing." And they thought best, "that your majesty should enter both at the east and west marches; and also your navy by sea, to come into the Firth to land at Leith, both to victual the army, and to do further exploits, as the case shall require." Whereupon they said, "they would debate further, and advertise your majesty of their opinions at length. And in the mean season," they said, "that such of them as now should repair to your majesty with sir George Douglas, should confer with your majesty in that behalf; and for present aid, as the case is now changed, they shall need none at this time."

Then was I in hand both with the earl of Glencairn and the lord Maxwell touching their pledges, wherein they be both satisfied; but the lord Maxwell sware a great oath, "that he would send up his son to your highness to declare himself; and whatsoever was said to your majesty, he bade me assure the same, that his son would do whatsoever he would have him." Furthermore, whereas your majesty hath granted a prorogation of the entry of all the lords, and such as I shall perceive be assured for your part, I have, as is aforesaid, declared the same to the lords afore specified, and devised with them for the entry of such as were requisite in that case. But when we had considered it, we thought best to enter none till they should go altogether; for the lords remaining, there is none of the other that can do good or harm; and if some should enter and some remain, it might engender suspicion towards those that so should have liberty to remain here; wherefore we have resolved to enter none till they go altogether, unless your majesty shall command the contrary.

This afternoon the governour sent for me again, and at mine access unto him, told me, "that the council had sitten this day about an an-

swer to the earl of Lennox, who had brought him only a letter of credence, with general overtures and good words, containing large offers in generality, but nothing in special. And albeit the kirk-men," he said, "had spoken as much to-day for France as they spake yesterday against England, yet as the said earl of Lennox had brought good words and general matter, offering for the performance thereof his life and heritage, which," he said, "was not worth 10,000*l*. Scottish to be sold; so he had given him good words again, and a general answer, little to his satisfaction, and would not condescend to enter any treaty, or farther communication of any other general or special matters with him, notwithstanding the kirk-men much pressed the same, and would most willingly have had him break the conditions of the abstinence in that behalf, which he assured me he would not do, though this were the last day of the said abstinence; and that he knew your majesty would invade this realm with as great an army as the power of England were able to make." And here he began to declare again his affection to your majesty, "how much he desired to have you his good lord, and what he had done to get the noblemen of this realm to grant that pledges should be laid for performance of the marriage;" where-with he took a paper out of his bosom, which he shewed, subscribed with the names of a great many noblemen of this realm for that purpose, to the number of twenty, or thereabout; "and also what he had done and said to get it agreed, that the peace should be concluded as your majesty desired, that is to say, to be friend to friend, and enemy to enemy, which nevertheless he could not obtain." And hereof he took record of my lord of Angus and sir George Douglas, whom he called to him, and repeated the same again afore them, which they confessed. And sir George said even plainly to him afore me, "that indeed he shewed himself now most addiet to your majesty, which should be his own honour, surety, and great benefit; and if he minded not the same so sincerely in his heart, as with his mouth he did speak, he was surely the most dissembling gentleman in the world." Whereunto the governour answered, with a great oath, (as indeed he

is a good swearer,) “that he minded no less to please your majesty, than he intended his own salvation :” And sware again, “that though it could not be agreed among them at this time to have the peace agreed, friend to friend, and enemy to enemy; yet as long as he was governour of this realm, he would be enemy to whosoever was not your majesty’s friend; and what should ly in him to do, for the further satisfaction of your majesty from time to time, he would surely do it.” And then he fell to talk of sir George Douglas’s repair now to your majesty, whom he prayed to set forth his good mind to your grace; and in the mean season praying me to write it to your majesty, asking me, “whether I thought best to send the earl of Glencairn, or the lord Maxwell, with the said sir George, and which of them should be most acceptable unto your majesty?” I said, they were both very acceptable to your highness. And he said to me, “they were both certainly dedicate unto your grace; but because the earl of Glencairn was the man of greater reputation, and also of better experience and judgment than the lord Maxwell, (who, nevertheless, was surely a good wise gentleman,) he intended, therefore, to send the said earl of Glencairn and sir George Douglas out of hand as fast as they can make them ready to depart;” which I allowed: “And when all those things shall be knit up, as he trusted in God,” holding up his hands, “your majesty would embrace those offers, he would then send some noblemen of this realm for the solemn conclusion of the same;” whereunto he named the earls of Angus and Murray, (for Huntley is not here,) “and such other,” he said, “as your majesty would have to come to you for that purpose.” Hereupon I told him, that your majesty had prolonged the day of the prisoners entry* till midsummer, which, I said, your highness had done chiefly, for that ye would not disfurnish him of his most faithful friends, being most meet to be about him, till all things were better settled here than they yet seem

* *i. e.* The day on which they were bound to surrender themselves into England for satisfaction of their ransom.

to be. He was singularly well content therewith, saying, "that if he durst have been so bold, he would have sued to your majesty for the same ; for if they should go from him till those matters were finished, he should have great lack of them." And then he prayed me "to speak the earl of Cassils, the lords Maxwell and Somervail, to abide with him, and to tell it was your majesty's pleasure they should so do ; and as for the earls of Angus and Marishal, they would not go from him." Thus we ended our communication, and departed for the time. And as soon as I was come to my lodging, came to me from the governour a gentleman of his chamber, saying, "that my lord governour prayed me to write on his behalf to your majesty, that it might please the same to change the lord Maxwell's pledge, to the intent he might remain on the borders to keep good rule there ; and my lord Maxwell to be here about the governour ; wherein your majesty should do him singular pleasure." I promised him to write according to his desire ; but this I know to proceed of the lord Maxwell's suit, upon occasion of the governour's request made to the lord Maxwell to abide here, who came to me this evening to take his leave of me, because he goeth now to Carlile to relieve his son. And he assured me, "that whatsoever had been told your majesty of his son, he will do as he would have him, or else," he sware all the oaths of God, "he would hang him on a tree ; and though he were of other mind and disposition to your majesty than he was, yet could he do nothing otherwise nor he should appoint ;" whereof he assured me ; and therefore besought your majesty "to give no credit to such informations, but to let him have him home, which he desired for your better service, for he could not else attend here upon the governour, nor look to his charge and offices, wherein he must serve your majesty, if the case so require ;" praying me, "to write as my lord governour had required me in that behalf ;" which I promised, because the said governour had so required me to do. Also, my lord Somervail maketh special suit to have his son home, who is very sick of the stone, and offereth to lay as good or

better pledges for him till he be whole ; assuring me, “ that if he may not come home for help to be cut of the stone, (which disease he hath by kind,) he is like to be in great peril of death ;” wherefore he most humbly beseecheth your majesty “ to have pity upon him, and to let him be relieved for a season.”

Thus have I discoursed to your majesty the present state of those things, and how the same have been wrought, whereby your highness may perceive, that the earl of Glencairn and sir George Douglas shall now, with convenient diligence, repair unto your majesty, for the more ample declaration of the same, and better framing of all things to good purpose, which I beseech our Lord to conduct to such end as your majesty desireth. Once it standeth upon the governour to adhere firmly to your majesty, for otherwise he could not long enjoy his place, being only supported by the earl of Angus, and such as be assured on your party, who do maintain and uphold him, of intent to bring your purpose to the better effect by him, having the place and authority of the realm. The band that is against him is great, but their power is on the other side of the water ; so that they prevail more in council than they may do with any force in this part of the realm. And surely it was not possible, at this convention and assembly, to do more for the perfection of your highness's desires, than hath been done by all those which be assured to your majesty, and by the governour himself also, who offered, if any of the noblemen would take his office, to go ly himself pledge in England for the performance of the marriage, whereby the most part of the nobility were induced to grant pledges ; but the earl of Bothwell is expressly against it, and diverse others, with the whole rabble of the kirk-men, as your majesty shall perceive all things at good length by the said earl of Glencairn and sir George Douglas, at their arrival with your majesty, whose repair to the same, in my poor opinion, shall serve to good purpose ; for that your highness shall now have the opportunity to confer with them, both for the better attaining of your godly purpose, either by peace or war, as to your high wisdom shall seem most expedient. But the

impeachment of their journey hath been practised by all means the clergy could devise, since they knew of the same, fearing them to be so acceptable to your majesty, as the rather by their good means you should now embrace these offers, which they most heartily wish your majesty should refuse; for they would rather the utter wars than any agreement. As even now, since this convention, they have devised to leavy a tax off the clergy for the maintenance of the wars, which they have offered to the governour and nobility here; and to go themselves in person to the battle,* rather than your majesty should have so much of your desires as is now at this assembly granted. This is the charity of those holy prelates and pastors, whom God amend. And thus, &c.

To my Lord SUFFOLK, PARR, and DURHAM, 5th May, 1543.

My duty remembred unto your good lordships. I received yesterday your letters of the 2d of May; and upon the contents of the same I have conferred with the governour, who forthwith hath addressed strait commandments, both to the earl of Bothwell and all other wardens, to keep their days of truce, and to meet at the places appointed and accustomed, for making and taking redress, and also to keep good rule on the borders, according to the abstinence: Assuring your good lordships, that if any default be in that behalf on this part for Scotland, it is much against the mind and will of the governour. But as to the earl of Bothwell, who, as ye know, hath the rule of Liddesdale,† I think him the most vain and insolent man in the world, full

* In fact, when the war broke out between the two nations, the bishop of Dunkeld, the abbot of Dunfermline, and other churchmen of rank, actually took up arms, regarding resistance to the English heretics as a sort of holy warfare. At the battle of Pinkie, there was, it is said, a whole band of Scottish priests and monks; their banner, of white sarsnet, bearing a female, with dishevelled hair, kneeling to a crucifix, and the motto, *Afflictae sponsæ ne obliviscaris*, made part of Somerset's trophies.---See Patten's account in *Dalyell's Fragments*, p. 72, 73.

† He was lord of Liddesdale, and keeper of the royal castle of Hermitage, in that disorderly district.

of pride and folly, and here, I assure you, nothing at all esteemed; wherefore the governour prayeth you to weigh his answer accordingly. And in my poor opinion, I think it not amiss, that if you my lord Parr do come to the Borders, ye do quickly call upon the said earl of Bothwell to meet at the places accustomed for Liddersdale, and to make redress for the same, as heretofore in time of peace hath been used; which if he shall refuse to do, or if the Liddersdalers make any attempts or incursions within England, I would wish it should be truly payed home again, as I doubt not your lordships will take such order therefore as appertaineth.

Yesterday the governour rode out of this town towards his house of Hamilton, and with him the earls of Angus and Cassils, and the earl Marishal, with also the lord Somervail, who be all of the king's majesty's party. And at my being with him yesterday before his going, he told me, "how the earl of Lennox had served him, who," he said, "whilst he was in this town, did promise to set his hand and seal to the act made for the establishment of him, in the place of governour, and second person of the realm; and nevertheless is departed the town very suddenly, without the accomplishment of the same." Wherefore the governor told me, "That within those eight days, either I should hear that the said earl of Lennox should confess his just title, and subscribe to the said act, or else he would put at him indelayedly, and lay hands on him, if he could, or drive him out of the realm; and or it were long he trusted to get from him the castle of Dumbarton."* Surely it is very like, that if the governour hold on his purpose, that he shall either distress the said Lennox, or chase him again into France; for he is not able to make any party against the governour and the earl of Angus: And if the said Lennox go to the sea again, as it is like he will do very shortly, for that he shall not be able to abide here, if that the governour do prosecute him, I would wish that some

* The earl of Lennox combated the governor's claim to the regency, on account of his having been born during the life of Janet Home, the divorced wife of the earl of Arran, his father.

of the king's ships might meet with him in his return, if it would be, which the governour also much desireth. He hath but two ships here, whereof one, that he came in himself, is a ship of _____, well appointed for the wars, that lieth ready for him at Dumbarton, to slip into at his pleasure; and the other is but a small boat, which the abbot of Paisley hired to bring in and convoy his baggage and coffers out of France; which boat, as it is thought, returneth not again. Once the governour is much offended with him, and saith, "He is minded to send the laird of Brunstoun to the French king, to declare unto him the misbehaviour of the said Lennox since his arrival here, as well in that he remained here, at the least three weeks, within less than forty miles of the court, without declaration of his charge and commission from the said French king; as also for that he hath done as much as in him is, since his coming hither, to stir sedition, strife, and rebellion within this realm; and thereupon to know whether the French king sent him hither for any such purpose: In which case," the governour saith, "if he do send the said Brunstoun, he will also send the king's majesty word thereof, with the effect of all his charge and commission in that behalf."

There be four or five merchant ships here in Leith preparing to set forth to the sea within these six days; and also here is a Frenchman, which lately came in with wines; and, as far as I can perceive, they intend to go altogether to the seas, and have furnished themselves with men and artillery as strongly as they can, both to defend themselves and annoy their enemies, as the case shall require: Whereof I thought good to advertise your lordships, to the intent Woodhouse and his fellows may have warning to look upon them, if ye think so convenient.

On Munday next, the earl of Glencairn and sir George Douglas take their journey towards the king's majesty, afore which time they cannot be ready, intending then to make as great diligence as they can make in journey without post. They say, "they will ride it in eight days;" whereof, with such other matter in this letter contained,

as ye think good, it may please your lordships to advertise the court in the mean season accordingly. And thus, &c.

To the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, 6th May, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that yesterday I received your letters of the 1st of May; before the receipt whereof the assembly and convention of the estates of this realm was dissolved, and every man departed into his country. And afore their departure, the earl of Glencairn and sir George Douglas, by the consents of the greatest part of the nobility, were dispatched with such answer in effect to the king's majesty's demands, as I have written to the same in my last letters, wherewith they will depart to-morrow towards his majesty, intending to be there within those ten or twelve days at the farthest; assuring your lordships, that more than hath been done, both by the governour himself, and also all others here of the king's majesty's party, for his highness's satisfaction, was impossible to be done at this time. But the governour being so well minded as he is, if it may please the king's majesty to embrace and accept that which now may be obtained without force, I see great likelyhood and appearance, that within a little time his majesty shall be able to work what he will in this realm at his grace's pleasure, and may, in my poor opinion, by gentle means, have all the nobility of the same induced to his own will and devotion; as I doubt not, but upon the arrival there of the earl of Glencairn and the said sir George, his majesty and your lordships, conferring with them upon the points and circumstances of all these affairs, shall more amply perceive, and thereupon resolve upon such determinations, as shall be most for his highness's honour, and the advancement of his most gracious and godly purpose. In the mean season, I see not what can be done here further in that behalf; the nobility of the realm being scattered and gone home, as is afore said, with whom the matter should be debated and resolved. And also the go-

vernour himself is gone to his own house of Hamilton, and with him the earls of Angus, Cassils, and Marishal. The lord Somervail is gone home to his own house; "and," as he told me, "would also follow the governour, if there were any cause." The lord Maxwell is either at Carlile, or at Lochmaben; so that I see not how it is possible for me to confer with them upon the contents of your lordships said letters; whereof also I see no great cause or necessity, considering in what terms all things do stand. And ye shall now have good opportunity, upon the arrival there of the said earl of Glencairn and sir George, to confer and communicate with them at length upon the same. And yesterday when your letters arrived, the said earl and sir George being at dinner with me, who came to take their leave of me, we have nevertheless conferred upon the effect of your said letters in all points, according to the king's majesty's pleasure signified unto me in that behalf; whereupon they intend to make the more haste to his majesty, and be in good hope that his highness shall be satisfied. And albeit at this assembly it could not be obtained, that the peace should be granted in such sort as the king's majesty requireth, that is to say, to be friend to friend, and enemy to enemy, yet I dare assure you, that the governour would fain have had it so, and saith, "That if there be such a league betwixt his majesty and the French king, if he might have the copy of the same to be shewed here, he doubteth not but thereby all the nobility of this realm would the rather be induced to condescend to the making of a like league with the king's majesty." And I think that the said sir George hath some further commission from the governour to the king's majesty, as well in that part, as also touching the marriage betwixt his majesty's daughter and the said governour's son, than the earl of Glencairn doth know of; for, as I perceive, he is not privy to the whole circumstances of that matter of marriage.

Touching the earl of Lennox, the governour (as he told me on Friday last at his departure hence) is resolved to command him, in the queen's name, to deliver the castle of Dumbarton, and also will have

him subscribe, and set his seal to the act for the establishment of the said governour, as second person of the realm; or else if he refuse so to do, (as undoubtedly it is thought he will,) the said governour saith, "He will prosecute him so, as he will either get him into his hands, or chase him out of the realm; and if he flee to the sea, to pass again into France, in that case the governour wisheth that some of the king's ships might chance to meet with him." And also he told me, "That he intended to send the laird of Brunstoun into France," for such purpose as I did lately advertise unto my lord of Suffolk, who, I doubt not, hath signified the same unto your lordships accordingly.

Finally, whereas I do perceive, that the king's pleasure is, I should repair to St Andrews to speak with the cardinal; I intend to forbear the same, till I shall hear again from your lordships of his majesty's pleasure in that part, for certain considerations; whereof one is, for that the said cardinal, and the bishops here of this realm, have even now called a convention and assembly of the clergy at St Andrews, which will endure these seven or eight days, wherein no doubt they will devise some mischief, and do all they can to impeach any good agreement betwixt these two realms; during which assembly I think it not convenient for me to come there. Another is, for that the governour is now as far out with the cardinal as ever he was, and would fain have him in hands again, if he wist how: Wherefore seeing he standeth in such terms with the governour, if I should repair to St Andrews to speak with him, without licence or consent of the said governour, (who is not here now to grant me the same,) I am in great doubt what suspicion he might have in that behalf; and besides, that this country is not very free for English-men to travel in without some conduct, specially now that there is like to grow some garboil betwixt the governour and the earl of Lennox. Which considerations move me to forbear my going to St Andrews, as is aforesaid; wherein I shall nevertheless do, as it shall please the king's majesty upon knowledge hereof to determine, whereof (if it so stand with his majesty's pleasure) I may be advertised before the said convocation shall dissolve; during

which time I think it not convenient for me to repair unto the said cardinal, as is aforesaid, though there were none other consideration to impeach the same. Assoon as conveniently may be theretore, I pray you let me be advertised of the king's majesty's pleasure in that behalf, which I shall accomplish according to my most bounden duty. And thus the Holy Trinity preserve your good lordships in long life, health, and honour. From Edinburgh, 6th May, &c.

Credence of the Laird of Drumlanrig, shewed unto John Thomson, Deputy-customer and Servant to my Lord Warden of the West Marches at Dumfries, sent to my said Lord Warden, the 5th of May, as followeth: Written at Carlile the 6th of May, as followeth:*

At the entring of the communication with the said Drumlanrig, the said John Thomson said to him, "That my lord warden not a little marvelled that he advertised him of no news of long time, trusting he had forgotten him." Whereunto the said laird answered, and said, "That there was so much falshood and inconstancy amongst the lords, that such agreement as they determined and made one day, they would break the same the next day; so that by reason of their imagined falshood and inconstancy, so oft determining and changing their purpose, he would not take upon him to write any news to my lord warden, trusting that if he had written any news, and the same not proved true, my lord warden would have taken the same to be made of his own device.

Also the said laird said, "That at their late convention it was agreed by the lords, that they would perform the marriage of their queen, and all other covenants, which they made and promised to the king's ma-

* Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig, who was about this time made warden of the west marches; a trust for which this letter shows him to have been particularly unfit. In Hayne's *State Papers* there is an order for paying him L. 100, for services done, and to be done, to the English cause.--Vol. I. p. 9. Drumlanrig died about 1578, at a very advanced age.

jesty, and send to his highness for a safe-conduct to an ambassador of theirs, to make suit for peace, and for the accomplishing of all such covenants as were made to the king's majesty. This determination was made one day, and broken on the next. The occasion of breaking whereof was studied and devised by the dowager and cardinal, who considered, that if the marriage of the queen and peace were taken with the king's majesty, it should not only put them out of credit and estimation with the French king, but also take a great commodity and authority from them, as well in the realm of France as Scotland: And upon that consideration they laboured and perswaded the governour, the earls of Argyle and Huntley, and their adherents, to consent to sue for no peace, nor perform no covenants to the king's majesty, putting the governour in comfort that his son shall marry the queen; and likewise putting the earl of Argyle in comfort that his son shall marry the queen. And upon those subtile perswasions, the governour, dowager, cardinal, the earls of Huntley and Argyle, with their adherents, had determined to sue for no peace, nor keep any covenants to the king's majesty, but utterly to follow the French king's device and purpose in every behalf."

Also the said laird said, "That at the departing of the lords from their convention, they appointed no day certain to meet again, but upon a new warning, which should be at the arrival of the French king's army into their realm, which they looked for daily."

Also the said laird said, "That the cardinal and dowager have devised, that the French king shall send Lorgy Montgomery,* and a power with him, to remain and aid the realm; and after his arrival there, within a short time, the dowager and queen shall be convoyed and sent to France, if in any wise the same may be done."

Also he said, "That, at the making of the earl of Angus lieutenant, the governour, by consent of the lords, promised him the next vacation

* Montgomery Seigneur de L'Orge, renowned in the civil wars of France. Henry II. was killed by a splinter of his lance, when encountering him at a tournament.

of any benefice that should chance first to fall; and, at the death of the bishop of Aberdeen, the earl of Angus made suit to the governour for that benefice, according to his promise; which the governour denied to him. The earls of Argyle and Huntley made like suit to the governour for the said benefice, whereof he made neither of them any grant, but keepeth the same benefice in his own hand, not granted to any as yet. The earl of Angus is out of trust with the governour and his adherents, and much suspected that he beareth favour to the king's majesty's affairs, and sets forth the same as far as he may," as the said laird saith.

The said laird further said, "That the assurance between the earl of Argyle, and the earl of the Isles, went forth on May-day, * and that the earl of Argyle hath laboured all his friends, to take part and go with him to war on the earl of the Isles, among which he laboured the sheriff of Ayr and Drumlanrig. The sheriff of Ayr hath promised to take his part; Drumlanrig said, "He was a Borderer, and could not leave the Borders, so he might not go with him."

"The governour, dowager, cardinal, and their adherents, much envy the earl of Cassils, and had determined to have taken and committed him to ward, if he had not wisely convoyed himself betimes out of Edinburgh, at this late convention," as the laird saith.

The said laird farther said, "That he will be always a man to my lord warden, and do for him any pleasure or service that lyeth in him to do, and set forth the king's majesty's affairs as far as he may in every behalf, when opportunity of time shall serve; and his advertisements he desires to be kept secret.

* That is, expired on May-day. It is difficult to guess whom Sadler calls earl of the Isles. The earls of Ross, and lords of the Isles, were once almost independent princes; but their power was broken, their family extinct, and their principality annexed to the crown, about the beginning of the sixteenth century. But the Macleans had in some degree succeeded to their power, and certainly to their enmity against Argyle and his clan. Sadler used inaccurately a well-known and distinguished name.

COMMUNICATION *had betwixt* ROBERT MAXWELL *and the said* JOHN THOMSON, *the place and day aforesaid.*

The said Robert Maxwell, among all his talks, said, "they looked daily for the coming of Lorgy Montgomery, who bringeth with him two thousand Frenchmen, and as much money as will wage five thousand Scottishmen for five months, to remain and defend their realm against the king's majesty's army, if the same should invade their realm:" Drumlanrig told the same.

He says also, "that the French king sends a great army by water to invade the king's majesty's realm; which army will not come into Scotland, but land in England, without any aid of Scotland."

He saith also, "that he would do any thing that might relieve his father, if he might know what the same were." To which words, the said Thomson answered, and said, "that he supposed my lord of Lennox and my lord warden had written to him, 'that if he would deliver to the king's majesty's hands such castles and houses of strength as he had in his keeping, it would be a mean to relieve his father.' He answered, that he had received such writing from my lord of Lennox and my lord warden; albeit such writing came to him, having the said castles and strengths in his keeping, he would deliver the same to none but to his father. And if his father were at liberty, he would deliver all the said castles and strengths to him; and if he would deliver the same to the king's majesty, or to his highness's officers, he would, for his part, be well contented therewith."

Walter Bell,* servant to Robert Maxwell, (who came out of Edinburgh on Saturday the 2d of May,) told the said John Thomson, that

* This may have been the Wattie Bell, chief servant to John Maxwell, son of the lord Maxwell, who was slain at a skirmish in Cumberland in 1547.---See lord Wharton's Letters in Introduction to *Nicholson's History of Cumberland*, p. lvii. lix.

it was openly bruited in Edinburgh, that the earl of the Isles would take plain part with the earl of Lennox against all Scottishmen his enemies ; and that great preparation for war is made between him and the earls of Argyle and Huntly.

The laird of Drumlanrig and other Scottishmen, shew the same John Thomson, that the west part of Scotland, and especially Nithsdale and Galloway, was the most poor countries, not able to victual themselves. And as for Annandale, the said John Thomson, in his passing and re-passing, saw the same to be in a great poverty, without corn for themselves.

To my Lords of SUFFOLK, PARR, and DURHAM. † 8th May, 1543.*

My very good lords, my duty remembred unto your lordships. It may like the same to understand, that this morning I received your letters of the 5th of May ; by the which I do perceive, as well the earl Bothwell's refusal to meet at the places accustomed on the Borders, and his will in the appointing of the same, where no true man will come to demand redress : ‡ As also, what attemptates have lately been done in England, both by the Armstrangs of Liddisdale, and others also in the east marches ; whereof your lordships do require me

* William Parr, son and heir of sir Thomas Parr of Kendal, and brother to Catherine Parr, whom Henry VIII. raised to the perilous honours of the royal bed. He was created, on this event, baron Parr of Kendal, and earl of Essex, having married the heiress of the ancient family of Bouchier, which had long enjoyed the latter title. He was attainted in the days of queen Mary, but restored to his own and additional honours and employments by Elizabeth, and he died in 1571.

† Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham. He had been bishop of London, and lord-privy seal. He was deprived of his see by Edward VI. on account of his attachment to popery, was restored by queen Mary, and a second time deprived by queen Elizabeth for the same reason. He died at Lambeth in 1559.

‡ These incursions on the English border, and the refusal of redress, were employed by the lords of the French faction, as the readiest means to produce such reprisals as might be the means of breaking off the matrimonial treaty with England. Henry and his council fell into the snare.

to advertise the governour, who is now at his house at Hamilton, and, as I lately wrote unto you, gave, before his departure hence, strait charge and commandment to the said earl, and all other wardens on the Borders, to keep their days of truce and meeting at the places accustomed; which, I think, they will observe; at the least, I dare say the governour would have it so for his part. And if they will needs be doing, without regard of commandment or justice, like as I have before given you my poor advice in that part; so I doubt not but your lordships will devise to pay them truly again with siklike. Yesternight came hither the earl of Angus, and this morning he told me, "that the governour and he had been at Linlithgow, where they had taken order for the sure keeping of the young queen's person, whom the dowager would fain have removed to Stirling; but seeing she cannot have the same granted unto her, she is content, against her will, to abide at Linlithgow. And now," he saith, "the governour and he, having thus taken order for the sure keeping of the young queen's person, will prepare to go upon the earl of Lennox, in case he shall refuse to deliver the castle of Dumbarton, and to seal and subscribe to the act made for the establishment of the governour as second person of the realm; for the which purpose," he saith, "he came now hither to assemble his friends, intending to be on Wednesday's night at Hamilton with the governour, and a good band of men with him: So that if the earl of Lennox do not yield to their desires," he saith, "I shall hear that he shall be sore put at and pursued." And I put him in remembrance of the king's majesty's pleasure, that in any wise, if they get the castle, they should commit the same to sure hands for the earl of Glencairn, or at least to take himself the charge of it in the same earl's absence, wherein he hath promised me to do the best he can. And then I told him, how the earl of Bothwell useth himself on the Borders; and also of the said attemptes done, as is contained in your said letters, the whole contents whereof I made him privy to. And he hath promised me to declare the same to the governour, saying, "there shall be no good rule in Liddisdale till the said earl Both-

well be shut up in a castle, and some honest man appointed to his charge, that will better look to the same.”*

I have likewise told the said earl of Angus the cause of the stay of his cart-horses, and advised him in that behalf, as your lordships required me ; wherein he prayed me to advertise you, “ that he hath a licence of the king’s majesty in that behalf under his broad seal, as his brother sir George shall declare unto your lordships at his arrival with you. And besides that,” he saith, “ he is the king’s majesty’s subject and his servant, and will be during his life, or else he would not have been so bold as to have sent for horses to England.” In which part your grace may use your discretion, considering my lord of Angus is not every man. And finally, he prayed me, “ to write to your grace, that it might please the same to send so much money to Berwick to Mr Shelley, to be paid by mine appointment, as should be sufficient to pay his wages and his brother’s ; for that, he thinketh, it would be noted, if he should send his servant so far within England as to Darlington for money, whereof might grow some bruit and suspicion, which he would be glad to avoid.” And also, he desireth, “ that it might please the king’s majesty to double his wages for a little time, till these things here were in better frame ; because he must needs be now at charge to maintain a force against the earl of Lennox, which he trusteth his service shall deserve, or else he will render the same, with all that he hath, unto the king’s majesty.” Wherein it may please your grace, to advertise me, by your next letters, what you think expedient to be answered. It is but 100*l.* more, which you have authority to help by your grace’s discretion. And thus the Holy Trinity preserve your good lordships in health and honour, &c.

* From these expressions, it was evident, that Bothwell, in his capacity of keeper of Liddesdale, had connived at, or perhaps encouraged, the incursions of the Armstrongs and other Borderers inhabiting that disorderly district, in order to embroil the negotiation between England and Scotland.

To my Lord of SUFFOLK, 15th May, 1543.

Please it your grace to understand, that I have received your letters of the 11th of May; by the which, I do perceive that your grace hath licensed the earl of Angus's cart-horses and their keeper to repair hither into Scotland; and also, that ye have directed a warrand to Mr Windale for 100l. to be paid to the said earl, over and above his month's wages, which shall be due on this day come seven-night; whereof I shall advertise him, not doubting but he will send for the same, with also his wages, to be due at the said day. He departed hence to Hamilton upon Wednesday last to the governour, who is now at Paisley, not far from Dumbarton; and (as I lately wrote unto you) sent a herauld to the earl of Lennox, with charge to deliver the castle of Dumbarton within forty-eight hours, upon pain of treason. In which part (as I am credibly informed) the said earl of Lennox pretendeth and sheweth himself willing, that the said castle should be delivered, and that he will not meddle with the withholding of the same: But he that is captain of the said castle, named

doth clearly refuse the deliverance thereof, alledging, that he hath a tack and assedation, as they call it; that is, a lease or grant of the keeping of the said castle for seven years to come; "which," he saith, "was given him by the late king here that dead is." But this is thought to be a practice devised between the earl of Lennox and the said captain, who taketh upon him the keeping of the said castle by such title as is aforesaid, refusing to deliver the same out of his hands, and thereof would make innocent the said earl of Lennox; notwithstanding that the same earl is within the castle; and, for the better colouring of the matter, (as is supposed,) layeth the whole burden of the default to the said captain, by practice and agreement betwixt them. Wherefore, the governour intendeth (as I am also informed) to prosecute the said earl of Lennox, by the order of the law first, to

summon and appeach him of treason for the said refusal, and after to put him to the horn, as they call it here, that is to say, to proclaim him a traitour, and so to enter upon his lands; and if he can apprehend him, to proceed to his execution, or drive him out of the realm. This I understand the governour will do, as soon as is possible by good advisement; but what will be the end thereof I cannot tell. As soon as I shall hear any certainty of the same, I will advertise your grace accordingly.

Furthermore, you shall understand, that the said governour hath now addressed a special charge and commandment to be declared to the earl Bothwell, touching his office in Liddisdale, commanding him to make redress for the same; and to meet for that purpose at such day and place as shall be appointed betwixt the two wardens of the middle marches of England and Scotland; the copy of which charge and commandment the governour sent hither unto me yesterday, which your grace shall receive herein inclosed; and (as I understand by credible means) the said governour remaineth ever the longer the better minded towards the king's majesty.

Finally, your grace shall receive herewith a letter from the earl of Cassils to my lord of Glencairn and sir George Douglas; with also my letters to my friends at London, which it may please your grace, at your next dispatch to the court, to send in your packet. And this, &c.

To the Earls of ANGUS and CASSILS, 15th May, 1543.

MY LORDS,

After my very hearty commendations yesterday, I received your letter, with also a letter to me from my lord governour, and the copy of the charge directed to the earl Bothwell, to make due redress for Liddisdale; for your good remembrance whereof, and for the rest of your advertisements contained in your said letters, I do most heartily

thank your lordships. And this day I have received certain letters from my lord of Glencairn and sir George Douglas, with others which I have sent your lordships inclosed in this packet; praying you to cause them be delivered, according to the directions and indorsements of the same. As for occurrences out of England, I have had none since your departure hence of any importance; but as soon as I shall have any worthy the writing, I shall not fail to make you participant of them as the case shall require. Praying your good lordships, at your next opportunity, to let me know, as well how all things proceed against the earl of Lennox, with such other occurrences as in the mean season shall occur amongst you; as also what hath been done at the late convention of the clergy at St Andrews, to the intent I may advertise his majesty of the truth of the same. And thus Almighty God have your good lordships in his holy tuition, &c.

To the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, 20th May, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that upon the receipt of your letters, bearing date on Whitsunday at night, which I received on the Thursday after, I repaired forthwith unto the governour, whom I found in the west parts of this realm at Glasgow, being forty miles from Edinburgh, and declared unto him fully the king's majesty's advice and counsel, touching the legate that is to repair hither, called Mark German, the cardinal here, and the earl of Lennox, with their adherents, how and in what wise the king's majesty would have him to proceed against them, in such sort as is expressed in your lordships said letters: which the said governour took in marvellous good part, "accounting himself most bound unto the king's majesty, that it pleased the same so much to tender him, as in such wise both to admonish him of dangers like to ensue towards him; and also to advise and counsel him how he might best avoid and eschew the same; whose counsel and advice," he said, "he would follow afore all the

princes of the world. And to the matter," he said, "if the French king would do them no more harm, than procure the sending of a legate to curse them, he cared little for the same; for he would so provide for the legate, as if he arrived here to make any garboil in this realm, with his fulminations of cursing, or to advance and set forth such things as might stir any division or inquietation here, he should surely never go home again; but glad he would be, according to his majesty's advice, to work so as the said legate's journey hither should be impeached and broken. And only," he said, "he suspended all his proceedings here in the affairs of this realm, upon knowledge whether he should have peace or war with the king's majesty; for if all things were established, and the peace concluded betwixt these two realms, which he most heartily wished and desired, he would not doubt with the king's majesty's good advice and counsel, to order and govern this realm in such sort, as the same should be reduced very shortly to as good obedience as ever it was; and he would reform the abuses of the church, and advance God's word and doctrine, maugre the legate, the cardinal, the bishops and priests of this realm, with all their partakers, which he doubted not to subdue and rule at his will, if he were once at a good point with his majesty." I told him, I was in good hope that the conclusion of the peace would not be long a doing; "which he again most heartily wished for; and prayed me, that I would play the part of a good minister to help the furtherance and perfection of the same; for the doing whereof," he said, "he would account himself most bound unto me while he lived, and would be always ready to do me all the pleasure he could; repeating unto me, how greatly he desired to satisfy and please the king's majesty; and that for his life he could do no more nor he had done to the accomplishment of his majesty's demands. And if the peace were once concluded, he would forthwith set upon the cardinal within his castle of St Andrews, whom he doubted not shortly to have into his hands; for he was the man," he said, "whom (God forgive him!) he did only hate in all the world, not without just cause. For the cardinal," he said, "did speak as fair

words, and write as humble letters to him, with desire of his remission and favour, as was possible for any man to do; and yet privily he wrought all that he could, to set division and distance betwixt me and the noblemen of the realm; wherefore, if the peace were concluded, I would soon be revenged thereof; but, till he knew how all things should succeed betwixt these two realms, he would be loth to stir any garboil within the realm."

And touching the earl of Lennox, he told me, "That since his coming into those west parts, he had sent an herauld to him, and commanded him, in the queen's name, to deliver the castle of Dumbarton, which the said earl shewed himself willing (as much as in him was) to accomplish; but the captain, named Stirling, who claimed an interest in the keeping of the said castle for seven years yet to come, by force of a grant he had thereof of the late king, utterly refuseth the delivery of the same, and keepeth it perforce; which," the governour saith, "is only done by the earl of Lennox's drift and procurement; who, notwithstanding that he maketh semblance of the contrary, hath put 100 men into the castle, and keepeth himself abroad in the town of Dumbarton, where he gathereth his friends about him to the number of 1200 men." Whereupon the governour determining to break the assembly, took purpose to repair to Dumbarton, being with him the earls of Angus and Cassils, the lord Somervail, and the sheriff of Ayr, with diverse gentlemen, and a good band of men, to the number of 4000: Which, when the said earl of Lennox heard of, he wrote by and by a very kind letter to the earl of Angus, desiring to speak with him upon trust, offering to be ruled by him in all things which the governour would desire of him. Whereupon it was ordained, that both the said earls should speak together upon trust, according to the same earl of Lennox's request; as indeed upon Wednesday last they spake together; at which time the said earl of Lennox promised the earl of Angus, "That he would the next day come and submit himself to the governour, and not only render the castle of Dumbarton, but also confess him to be governour and second person of the realm, and sub-

scribe to the same, as other noblemen had done ;” which was thought assuredly he would have done. Nevertheless he accomplished no part of the same ; but the next day, afore the governour should come to Dumbarton, the said earl of Lennox, with a few with him, fled into the Highland, and hid himself in the rocks and mountains, where it is not possible hastily to come by him, or apprehend him ; and all his company skaled* and broke : And all the gentlemen being of that company offered themselves to the governour at his coming to Dumbarton, to do him service, supposing that the earl of Lennox had been a true gentleman, and would have done the same. “ The governour,” saith he, “ took their offer in good part, alledging that he would charge them as the case should require in that behalf.” The captain of the said castle of Dumbarton very proudly set out banners and flags upon the tower of the said castle, immediately upon the governour’s entry into the town, and prepared for defence, if the same should have been assaulted, and would in no wise render nor deliver it : “ Which,” the governour telleth me, “ is so strongly situate upon a great high rock or craig of stone, that it is impregnable otherwise than by famine ; whereupon he caused proclamations to be made in the queen’s name in the town of Dumbarton, and all the country thereabout, that, upon pain of death, they should not aid nor support the said captain with victual, nor otherwise : And so finding the country obedient, none rebelling but the said castle, which he saw impregnable by any assault, he returned hither to Glasgow, intending within these five or six days to repair towards Edinburgh, and to take deliberate advice how to proceed against the said earl of Lennox, who,” he saith, “ is only set out and procured by the cardinal to do as he doth.” For the governour saith, “ he is credibly informed, that after the said earl of Lennox had, upon Wednesday last, made the said promise to the earl of Angus, the same night came one to the said earl of Lennox, with a letter and message from the cardinal, which clearly changed his purpose, and

* Dispersed.

caused him the next morning to withdraw himself privily out of the town of Dumbarton, and so flee into the Highland among the hills and mountains, where he hideth himself, so that no man knoweth where he is become.”

Thus far the governour told me he had already proceeded against the earl of Lennox, “who, he assured me, durst not abide him, nor was he able to make any party in Scotland against him.” And told me further, “That if the peace were concluded, he would not fail to pursue both the cardinal and the said earl of Lennox, and doubted not right soon to have them into his hands: But of force he must suspend and stay his proceedings in that behalf, till he see how all things shall stand between these two realms; till which time he may not conveniently make any great stir within this realm.” I advised him so to suspend his proceedings in that part, as his enemies took no courage by his stay, nor might have time and opportunity to practise their mischievous intent against him for his destruction, which they so much desired. But he made nothing thereof, saying, “that they neither could nor would enterprize to make any party towards him; and he had such watches, as they could make no gathering nor assembly but he should soon have warning thereof, and within twenty-four hours he might be able to make a party to repress their malice: And, for the earl of Lennox, he had so wrought, that if he should happen to repair out of the Highlands to his own country of Lennox, or shew himself abroad, he should escape very hardly, but he would be taken. And, having the peace once concluded,” which string he always harped on, “he would soon bring this realm to perfect obedience; wherein, and in all his proceedings, he would use wholly the king’s majesty’s advice and council; giving again his most humble thanks unto his majesty for such advice as his highness gave now unto him. And touching the castle of Stirling, albeit he desired much to have the same into his hands, and would (according to the king’s majesty’s advice) do what he could to get it from the lord Areskine,* which he thought would be

* John, twelfth lord Erskine, was, by a grant dated 15th May, 1525, made heritable captain and constable of the castle of Stirling. He had the custody of queen Mary’s person from the year 1542 till 1548, when she was sent to France.

somewhat difficile, because it is the queen's jointure; yet nevertheless," he said, "though he had it not, he could be master of the bridge at his pleasure: For he, and the earls of Angus, Glencairn, and Cassils, had as many and moe friends on the other side of the water than any of their adversaries had, so that they could be masters of the bridge on both the sides of the water at their own will; and in the castle there was no ordinance nor artillery to keep the bridge with; nevertheless he would practise to get it into his hands, which," he saith, "he hath had in purpose afore this, and trusteth to obtain the same, with the good contentation both of the queen and the lord Areskine."

Also, touching the last convocation at St Andrews by the clergy, he saith, "The same was not without his licence and authority, but by him granted, to the intent they should agree and determine upon such a mass and sum of money as they would give for the sustentation of the war, if the same should ensue." And he saith, "There have assembled together at St Andrews a great many of the bishops, but not all: Wherefore, because many were absent, they dissolved their convention the sooner, and prorogate the same to the 1st of June; at which time, the whole clergy intend to meet for the said purpose. And, in the mean season, they have resolved, though the mass and sum be not yet determined, that they will, for the maintenance of the war, give all the money they have, and also their own plate, and their churches plate,—as chalices, crosses, censers, and all, leaving nothing unspent in that quarrel, and fight themselves, if need require." But the governour saith, "If the peace succeed, he will stop their next convention and meeting, which shall be the said 1st of June."

Furthermore, as to the ship, which the earl of Lennox came in hither, she is now within these six days departed towards France; and one Stewart, a Scottish man, in her, whom the said earl of Lennox hath dispatched to the French king, with such answer as he hath received here, and to declare by all likelihood the estate of this realm. It were happy if some of the king's majesty's ships might meet with her, for thereby percase might surely be known what practices the said

earl of Lennox hath here to do for France; which nevertheless may be easily conjectured. The governour saith, "That he purposed to have taken and stayed the said ship whilst she was here; but it was not possible to come by her, for she kept always aloof in the seas, and came not near the land; so that, being well furnished with ordinance and artillery, it was not possible to approach her. And very suddenly," he said, "the said Stewart departed with her, and is yet scanty off from the coast of this realm; for since his departure, the wind has not served him; but as the wind shall serve, he will not fail to make all the sail he can into France." In the end of my communication with the governour, I told him of myself, according to your lordships said letters, that I trusted, when this peace shall be concluded, (which I was in good hope would not be long a-doing) he would make forth some ships for the keeping of the seas; so that the legate, if he pass not in the mean season, should not escape them, though the French king do what he can to the contrary. Whereunto he answered me, "That he would not fail for that purpose to send as many ships as he could furnish out of all Scotland, with all his heart, to join with the king's ships as soon as he could by any means possible, after the peace once agreed upon."

Finally, I have participated the whole effect of your lordships said letters, according to the continue of the same, to the earls of Angus and Cassils, and to the lord Somervail. As to the lord Maxwell, he is not here, but remaineth, as I understand, upon the Borders. And with them I have communicate upon the premisses at length, which in effect agree with the saying of the governour. They seem to fear no peril or danger, neither of the coming of the legate, nor of any party that can be made here by their adversaries; but say, "that if the peace succeed," whereupon only the governour suspendeth all matters, "they will soon repress the malice of all their enemies." And the earl of Angus, whose power the earl of Lennox only feareth and flieth from, is of a jolly courage to win the castle of Dumbarton by assault; "which," he saith, "if he had had, at this time of their being there,

any ordinance and artillery, he would surely have assayed; and doubteth not, but that when the governour is resolved, by the deliberation and advice of the council, how to proceed farther against the earl of Lennox, if the castle be not rendred, he shall surely win it." Which nevertheless is thought by most men to be impossible, the situation of the place is so strongly formed by nature. The said earls of Angus and Cassils, and lord Somervail, do assure me, "the governour remaineth most assured unto the king's majesty, and desireth nothing more than the perfection of this peace, and the favour of his majesty." Which I assure your lordships, I do well perceive to be true: And now at my coming hither unto him, he made me such chear and entertainment, as I might well perceive that I was heartily welcome unto him. And this day he hath appointed certain gentlemen to accompany me to Stirling, being twenty-four miles hence, not much out of my way to Edinburgh, to the intent I should see the castle of Stirling, and the country in the west parts. And he himself departeth this day also towards his own house of Hamilton, where he remaineth three or four days, and then will draw towards Edinburgh, against such time as he thinketh to hear from the earl of Glencairn and sir George Douglas. In the mean season, I have thought good to signify all those things to your good lordships, whereof it may please the same to advertise the king's majesty accordingly. And thus, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

The governour told me, that the cardinal had sent him a message by the laird of Brunstoun, which was in this effect: "That forasmuch as the said cardinal thought, that the king's majesty (whom he never offended) was so much displeased with him, that percase his demeure and abiding in this realm might be some lett and impediment to such good purposes, as might be set forth to the unity of these two realms; and again, because he perceived the governour favoured him not, nor would use his service, which most willingly and obediently he offered to do at all times to the said governour: He therefore humbly desired and

prayed the same, that he would license him to go into France, where he might remain quietly, and would be ready to serve the governour, as well there as in all places, at his commandment; and also would return to serve him here, whensoever it should please him to call upon him for that purpose. Desiring also, that it might please the governour to be so good a lord unto him, as to let him have into France his yearly profits of his bishoprick, and other his revenues within this realm, from time to time, as the same shall be due unto him." Wherein the said governour told me, "he would use only mine advice, praying me to tell him my mind in that behalf." I told him, that I thought I should give him evil council, in case I should advise him to license the cardinal to go into France, where he might freely work all the mischief he could devise against this realm. And hereupon I made him an example of our cardinal Pool, the marquis of Exeter, and the lord Montacute, with the circumstances of that matter; and therefore advised him rather so to proceed against the said cardinal, as he might be sure to keep him from such liberty, as whereby he might the rather have any opportunity to work him such displeasure, as I knew he intended towards him. Whereupon he is resolved that the cardinal shall not depart, but saith, "He will proceed against him, and all the rest, in such sort as the king's majesty shall give him counsel: And if the peace were agreed on to-day, he would not fail to-morrow to go upon the cardinal, and pull him out of his castle of St Andrews by the head; which castle," he saith, "is of no strength."

*To my Lord of SUFFOLK, 23d May, 1543.**

Please it your grace to understand, that I have received your letters of the 20th of May, with the king's majesty's letters to the earl of Cas-

* This letter seems to refer to the English made prisoners at the battle of Haddenrig, in 1542. According to the usage between the countries, they ought to have paid their ransom, or surrendered up their persons to their captors, according to their respective bonds,

sils, and such others as were addressed to me with the same: Perceiving right well, by your grace's said letters, and sir William Evers, with the copy of a Scottish letter contained in the same, how certain of the takers of the English prisoners do demand the forfeiture of the bonds made for their entry at Whitsunday. In which matter I have already done this much now at my late being with the governour in the west parts of this realm, from whence I came yesternight to this town, having the letter with me which was sent by the taker of Thomas Eglinsby, called Alexander Macdoual, to the captain of Berwick; being a like letter in effect to the same sent by the taker of Richard Bowes: which Macdoual's letter the said captain had before sent unto me. I have moved the governour in that behalf, who has taken upon him to stand between all the English prisoners and their harms for that matter, notwithstanding any suit or demand made by any of their takers for the forfeiture of their bonds. And, as I do perceive, by the abbot of Paisley, the cause why the said Macdoual and John Dickson, taker of Richard Bowes, had no commandment from the governour not to call upon the entry of their persons till midsummer, nor to ask or pursue any forfeiture of the bond for non-entry at Whitsunday, was, for that the said abbot of Paisley, and the rest of the council about the governour, had not present knowledge of all the names of the takers of the said English prisoners; for they addressed commandments to all such of the takers as they could remember in that behalf. As now, upon my relation, there is a like commandment addressed unto the said Alexander Macdoual, and, as soon as I can, I shall procure the semblable to the said Dickson, the taker of Richard Bowes, which cannot well be done till the governour (who is now at his own house at Hamilton) do come hither. Once the governour hath assured me, "that none of the English prisoners, nor their sureties, shall incur any danger of forfeiture for non-entry at Whitsunday;

The governor, in this instance, seems to have suspended the forfeiture of these engagements till midsummer. Henry complained, in his manifesto, that the Scots refused to ransom these prisoners. The subject is resumed in a subsequent letter.

and that his promise of the prorogation of the day of entry till midsummer shall be sufficient for their discharge in that behalf. And this, &c.

To the Governour, 28th May, 1543.

Please it your grace to understand, that this morning, among others, I received two letters to your grace from your ambassadors in England, which I thought meet to dispatch immediately to your grace. And forasmuch as it seemeth unto me by such advertisements as I have at this time, that the same letters now addressed to your grace be specially dispatched for the prorogation of the truce to the first of July, and to signify the repair hither of sir George Douglas with diligence; * if it may please your grace to advertise me what day you will cause the said prorogation to be proclaimed, I shall signify the same to the duke's grace of Suffolk, the king's majesty my sovereign lord's lieutenant on the borders, to the intent he may make like proclamations on our part accordingly. And thus, &c.

To my Lords of SUFFOLK and DURHAM, 3d June, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that albeit I have no great matters whereof to write unto your lordships, yet because ye required me in your last letters to advertise you as soon as I could, what towardness or untowardness I should perceive in those matters now last brought hither by sir George Douglas; I have, therefore, thought

* Sir George Douglas, as we have seen, had gone to London with the earl of Glencairn; but came back again to Scotland, in order to remove some obstacles which had occurred in settling the treaty. The chief point of discussion seems to be the age at which the young queen was to be sent to England; Henry's council insisted it should not be later than ten years.

good to signify unto you, that since the arrival here of the said sir George, I have been sundry times with the governour; as I have taken occasion to go to him, both for the speedy sending forth of the proclamations to prorogate the abstinence till the 1st of July, and also to present and commend unto him sir Robert Richardson, priest, whom, for the king's majesty's sake, he hath well accepted, and hath heard him preach; and also hath promised him living and entertainment for the king's sake, whereof it may please you to advertise his majesty. And being for those causes with the said governour, I have taken occasion to feel his inclination towards the end and conclusion of those articles last devised and brought hither by the said sir George; wherein I find him most willing and conformable to pass the same without difficulty. As for his part, he saith, "he seeth nothing therein to be sticked at; nevertheless, it hath been thought best to him, and such of the council as be about him, to call the lords of the realm unto it, such as will come, because they shall not say hereafter that he concluded the same privily by himself, without calling them to council in that behalf; and therefore he sent forth letters, immediately upon the arrival here of the said sir George, to sundry lords and noblemen of the realm, to be here to-morrow for that purpose, thinking that many of them will come; and he supposeth that none of them will stick at any of the said articles, unless it be at the delivery of the daughter of Scotland at ten years old, which, nevertheless, he trusteth easily to bring them unto: And in case the said lords and noblemen come not to-morrow, or the next day, seeing," as he saith, "he hath given them warning, so that they shall not be able to say hereafter that they were not called to it; he will then, with the advice of such noblemen and others of the council as be here, proceed to the conclusion of these matters, and dispatch away the said sir George with the same to the king's highness accordingly." This is as much as I can yet learn of his towardness in those matters; wherein I have also talked with the earls of Angus and Cassils, and with the lord Somervail and sir George Douglas, which also seem to make no great difficulty

at the conclusion of those things in such sort as the articles do support. And they thought it best also, that the lords should be sent for, because the greater the number is of the nobility that shall be present at the same conclusion, the more honourable and the greater shall be the authority of the same.

The governour told me also, "that where the clergy prorogated their last convention to the 4th of June, and were determined to have kept their day, he hath now broken and put off the same, so that they shall not convene according to their appointment." And also he said to me, "that if he were once sure of the peace, he would prosecute the cardinal forthwith." Whereunto I answered him, that he might now perceive how to be sure of the peace, which was in his own hands, performing such things as were now required by the king's majesty; which I doubted not the said sir George had declared unto him at length: And upon their conclusion and agreement of the same, he might direct his proceedings against the cardinal, and such as were not his friends, accordingly. "Which," he said, "he would advise upon, and do further, as by the noblemen and others of the council here should be thought most expedient; and, for his own part, he was fully agreed to all those things contained in those last articles; trusting, that all the lords, which he now looketh for to assemble here to-morrow, will likewise agree to the same." These things I have thought meet to signify unto your lordships, which it may please you in the mean season to advertise unto the court. And also, with your next dispatch thither, it may please you to send such my letters inclosed in this packet, as I now write to Mr Wriothesley, and other my friends, containing nothing else but mine own private affairs. And this, &c.

To the King's Majesty, 7th June, 1543.

Please it your royal majesty to understand, that since the arrival here of sir George Douglas, upon the declaration here of his charge to the governour, letters were addressed forth unto all the noblemen of this realm to assemble here for their advice and consultation upon these matters and articles now last devised and brought hither by the said sir George. And on Tuesday last arrived sundry of the lords that were sent for, viz. the earls of Montrose and Caithness, the lords Areskine, Fleming, Seton, Oliphant, and divers other lords and barons, besides those which were here with the governour before, as the earls of Angus and Cassils, the lord Somervail, and divers others of the meaner sort, which be of the council, to a great number. All which being assembled here together, did yesterday all day sit very busily upon the said matters, and great sticking was among them at the delivery of the daughter of Scotland at ten years old, unless that pledges should be laid and delivered by your majesty into Scotland, before her deliverance out of the realm, that she should be married to my lord prince's grace at her age of twelve years at the farthest. Nevertheless, with much difficulty, it is now agreed,

First, That she shall be delivered to your majesty, or to my said lord prince's grace, at her said age of ten years; providing that the marriage between my lord prince's grace and her shall be, afore her going out of this realm, contracted by procurators *per verba de futuro*; and six earls or barons, or their heirs, such as your grace shall have reasonable cause to be content withall, shall be laid into your majesty as pledges and hostages for her delivery at the years above specified. And touching the custody of her person, in the mean time of her demeure in Scotland, it is agreed upon in such sort as is contained in the said articles.

Secondly, Touching the peace, it is agreed upon in all things according to the said articles, saving that there is a little alteration touching their accustomed traffic or intercourse of merchandize with the subjects of such comprehended, as in case expressed in the said articles, shall lose the benefit of his comprehension ; without the which intercourse and traffic, they say, their merchands here cannot live. They are content and agreed, that the peace shall be passed according to the articles of the last peace, and the exception of France to be pretermitted and left out ; with provision also, that whomsoever your majesty, or the party of Scotland, shall comprehend generally, it shall be added, that if the same comprehended, detain, or withhold any land, possession, or pension, from your majesty, or the party of Scotland, the same comprehended shall not enjoy the benefit of that comprehension, nor shall be aided, assisted, or favoured in any thing prejudicial to either party : Reserving also liberty, by special covenant, to aid and assist each other for the wages of the requirant against those persons so comprehended. And so be these articles qualified touching the marriage and the peace.

Thirdly, They have added a new article, that if it shall please God to call my lord prince's grace to his mercy, without issue had of the said daughter, that then she shall return again into this realm unmarried, at her liberty, if she list or desire so to do. All the rest of the said articles be here agreed upon, in such sort as your majesty requireth, with little or no alteration in effect, as far as I can perceive. But they desire much, that this treaty of the marriage and peace being passed and agreed upon by your majesty, the prisoners may be made free by ransom or otherwise, at your majesty's pleasure, afore they lay in their hostages for the delivery of the said daughter at the time afore specified ; for they would lay some of the said prisoners as hostages and pledges for that purpose, now at the first time, because, as I understand, they know not, without great difficulty, how to supply and furnish otherwise the whole number of six now for the first entry. The earls of Huntley, Argyle, and Murray, were not at this convention ;

the cause whereof is, for that the earl of Murray is sick of his old disease, and some think he will not recover. The earl of Argyle hath much ado in the Highland with the Irishmen, who rebell against him; and the earl of Huntley is likewise occupied in the north parts of this realm.* They be all three far hence; and, as I perceive by the governour, he is glad they come not here, specially the earls of Murray and Huntley; saying, "that their presence would have done more hurt than good to those affairs betwixt your majesty and this realm." For the governour's part, I assure your majesty, he is wholly given and dedicate unto your highness, and, as far as I can see, his affection daily increaseth in that part; and if he had not even now sticked fast to those matters, with the earls of Angus and Cassils, the lord Somervail and sir George Douglas, surely there would have been a great alteration; and with great difficulty they have brought the said articles to such frame as is before expressed; wherewith the said sir George Douglas shall be this day fully dispatched, and to-morrow, or the next day, taketh his journey in post towards your majesty. The earl of Lennox is returned into his own country of Lennox, being in the west parts of this realm, and joining near to the Highland; where (as I hear) he gathereth force to him as he may; which cannot be great, for he hath no substance nor money to maintain therewith any great power; but, as I hear, he looketh both for men and money out of France, whereupon he dependeth. And the governour stayeth his proceedings against the said earl and the cardinal upon the determination and conclusion of this peace betwixt these two realms. The cardinal maketh great suit and means to the governour for his favour, or else that he may have licence to pass into France; but the said governour is so far displeased with him, that as yet he will hear none of his suits in that behalf. And whereas the clergy should now have kept

* The earl of Huntley, and his allies the clans of Grant and Fraser, were engaged in a feudal war with the Camerons, Macphersons, and other Highland clans. About this time there was fought a most desperate battle between the Frasers and Camerons, in which tradition says the former were nearly extirpated.

their convention at St Andrews, which (as I wrote before) they prorogated before Whitsunday till the 4th of June, the governour hath now stayed and put off the said convention, so as they hold not the same according to their appointment. Finally, the prisoners desire to know your majesty's pleasure, whether they shall keep their day of entry at midsummer or not ; wherein, they say, they will accomplish your majesty's commandment. And thus have I thought good to signify unto your royal majesty the state of all those affairs, to the intent your majesty should know as much of the same as I can get knowledge of, before the arrival with your grace of the said sir George : Which it may please your highness, of your gracious clemency and accustomed benignity, to accept in good part ; beseeching Almighty God to preserve your royal majesty, &c.

To my Lord SUFFOLK, PARR, and DURHAM, 9th June, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that this morning I received your letters of the 7th of June, with also the news sent from sir Thomas Wharton, which, though it be possible that they may be true, yet I think them vain and utterly untrue. And as to the governour himself, if he be a Christian man, and have any spot of honour, honesty, or truth in him, he is wholly dedicate to the king's majesty, and the most desirous man that ever I saw, in appearance, to have the king's majesty his good and gracious lord, and most willing he hath shewed himself, both at the council and convention of the lords here, at the time of the dispatch of the earl of Glencairn and sir George Douglas, and also now at this last convention, for to have accomplished all the king's majesty's desires, in form as they were required. "Which though, for his own part, he would most gladly do," as himself hath told me seriously ; "yet," he saith, "if he should do any thing of his own head and authority, without the whole consent of the great part of all the nobility and council of the realm, they would

take a just occasion thereof to set the whole realm against him, and to deprive him, if they might ; and all the disobedience that is used to him in this realm, and all the malice and hatred that is borne him, is only for God's cause and the king's majesty." As indeed they murmur here universally against him in all parts of this realm, saying plainly, " that he is an heretick, and a good Englishman, and hath sold this realm to the king's majesty." And they say, " he must needs be a good Englishman, for his ancestors were Englishmen : " As indeed the governour himself hath told me divers times, that his ancestors came out of England, and that he is come of the house of the Hamp-ton in England ; and also he saith, that he is the king's majesty's poor kinsman.

Surely, my lord, I cannot think, that if the lords, mentioned in the said sir Thomas Wharton's news, should make such party as is expressed, that the governour would take any part with them ; and it is very unlike that they can be able to make any party against him. Nevertheless, the state of this realm is so perplexed, that it is hard to judge any certainty what will follow ; for all this while the fear of our wars hath made them sit still and agree together ; but when the peace shall be concluded, it is not unlike that the war will begin here among themselves, the realm being divided as it is in sundry parties. There is one party which be called hereticks, and the English lords, which is the governour and his partakers. Another party there is, which be called Scribes and Pharisees, which is the clergy and their partakers : And then is there a third party, which seemeth to be neuter, and will (as it is thought) be always ready to take the better and the stronger party, if there come any business among them. Thus is this realm divided and perplexed, so that it is hard to judge what may follow ; but unless it may please God and the king's majesty to help to stay them, it is very like that great inconvenience will fall upon them. Touching James de la Hile, I have communed with the governour for him, who promised assuredly, " that he should be gotten, and delivered to the king's majesty, if it were possible ; " and thereupon very instantly

wrote to the earl of Argyle forthwith; whereof, as yet, he hath none answer. But yesterday the said governour told me, "that he had privily enquired of the said James de la Hile, and he is done to wit for a certainty, that the same James is dead;" whereof, as I shall hear further, I will advertise you; and shall not fail, if he be alive, to travel for his apprehension accordingly. To-morrow, at night, sir George Douglas will be at Berwick, in his journey towards the king's majesty. Finally, I wonder not a little, that your lordships have not heard of the proclamations of the truce on the Borders in this realm; for I am sure that the governour dispatched his letters, with the proclamations made for that purpose, nine days ago: And they tell me here that the same be proclaimed, and marvel much that your lordships hear not of the same. Thus the Holy Trinity, &c.

To the King's Majesty, 13th June, 1543.

Please it your royal majesty to understand, that since the arriva. here of sir Robert Richardson, priest, I have, according to your high commandment and pleasure, contained in your most gracious letters to me, addressed by the said sir Robert, commended him, on your majesty's behalf, to the governour here, who did very thankfully receive him, and, for your majesty's sake, hath well entreated him, heard him preach, and also hath promised him convenient living and entertainment; which I trust he will perform. And, with the said governour's licence and consent, the said sir Robert Richardson hath been with the cardinal at St Andrews, with whom he hath had conference and communication of such matters as be contained in his letters; which I caused him now to write unto your majesty for the better declaration of the same, as your highness shall perceive by his letters inclosed in this packet. And also, according to your majesty's other letters, which were brought hither unto me by Mr John Spencer, I have, on your majesty's behalf, put him to the governour's service, who likewise, at

your majesty's contemplation, was heartily content to accept and receive him ; and, for your majesty's sake, hath promised to put him in an honest place of service about him ; whereof I thought meet to advertise your highness accordingly. And thus, &c.

To my Lord PARR, 13th June, 1543.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

After my most hearty commendations, I have received your letters of the 11th of June ; by the which I do perceive what matter standeth partly between sir Robert Bowes and his taker ; wherein your lordship desireth to know, whether he may proceed in that behalf with his said taker to his ransoming and deliverance, without offending any promise, or other act done by me here, that might be an impeachment to the same. For answer whereunto, your lordship shall understand, that, for my part, I have not promised nor taken any thing upon me, either for Mr Bowes's entry, or of any other of the English prisoners ; only I sued for the prorogation of their entry till midsummer ; which was here granted, without condition, bond, or promise, on my part, that they should enter at that day, saving that their old bonds should stand in the same strength they stood in before ; so that for any thing that I have done, Mr Bowes, and all the rest which were prisoners with him, may make their bargains as well as they can. But as far as I understand, all their takers be bound to the governour and the council here, that they shall not compone with the said prisoners for their ransoms, nor acquit them of their captivity without the licence of the said governour and council, who do intend (as far as I can perceive) to use Mr Bowes, and the rest of our English prisoners, in such sort as the king's majesty shall use the Scottish prisoners ; that is to say, either to ransom them, or to set them free without ransom. And, as I think, if the peace succeed, whereof I see no great difficulty, the king's majesty will set free without ransom, either all or the

most part of the Scottish prisoners. So that it is like that the governour here will do the semblable with Mr Bowes and his fellows accordingly. And it may be, that their takers, having some knowledge thereof, and fearing lest they shall be driven to compone with the governour for the ransoms of our said prisoners, (in which case, peradventure, they shall not have so much as they look for,) would be glad to get afore-hand as much as they might, in making their own bargains with our said prisoners; which, in my poor opinion, it shall be well done to Mr Bowes and the rest to consider as appertaineth. And thus, &c.

To my Lords of SUFFOLK, PARR, and DURHAM, 19th June, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that this day I received your letters of the 17th of June, declaring the king's majesty's pleasure both for the entry of the Scottish and also the English prisoners, which I shall ensue and accomplish with all the diligence I can possible; though I think it cannot well be brought to pass that the Scottish prisoners may keep their just day of entry now at midsummer; for the governour lieth sick at his house at Hamilton, which is thirty English miles hence; and the lords, mentioned in your said letters, be not together, but are scattered abroad for a little time; so that it will be three or four days or we can meet for the determination of the matter. If the governour had not been sick, I had been with him or this at Hamilton, for the matter touching the cardinal and the earl of Lennox; but his sickness hath been the impediment thereof. This night I shall know when I may have access unto him; and, for my part, I shall not fail to use all the diligence to me possible for the accomplishment of those things, according to the continue of your said letters; but I think the time so short, that it will be after midsummer or the Scottish prisoners can enter; whereof I thought meet to adver-

tise your grace in the mean season. And Oliver Sinclair* (whom, ye say, the king's majesty will specially have to enter) is fourteen score miles hence northwards ; so that I see not how he can keep his day of entry. And to say mine opinion of him, whatsoever he saith he can declare unto his majesty touching his honour and the wealth and surety of the governour, as your grace writeth to me, I assure you I could never perceive in him, since mine arrival here, that he was either well dedicate to the king's majesty, or to the advancement of any his highness's godly purposes, or yet to the wealth and surety of the governour.

The cardinal on Saturday last rode with a good company of men, as it were with a garrison about him, to Arbroath, twenty-four miles northwards from St Andrews, where he now is. I doubt whether he had license of the governour to ride thither or not ; but, as far as I can perceive, the governour hath been so laboured by the friends of the said cardinal, and of the earl of Lennox, that he now waxeth somewhat cold in the prosecution of them : wherein I shall do what I can to feel his inclination at mine access unto him ; and shall not fail, by all the good means I can, to excite and quicken him in that behalf. The success whereof, and all other things worthy the writing to the king's majesty, I shall advertise unto his highness as I can get knowledge of the same accordingly. And thus the Holy Trinity, &c.

* Oliver Sinclair was a cadet of the family of Roslin, raised into temporary eminence by the undeserved favour of James V. He was taken at Solway ; indeed the loss of that battle was owing to the mutiny which broke out among the Scottish soldiers, when he announced his commission as their leader. The importance of Sinclair ended with the life of James ; but when Sadler is at Tantallon, we find the favourite playing the part of a freebooter, and lying in wait for him and his retinue. Henry seems to have attached an importance to him more suitable to his former than his present condition.

To the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, 21st June, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that having received a letter from you, my lord privy-seal, Mr Brown, * and Mr Paget, † written from S. Sithes in Essex, the 12th of June, making mention, that the king's majesty's pleasure was, that I should eftsoons induce the governour here to the apprehension of the cardinal, the earl of Lennox, and their adherents, by all means I could possibly; the prosecution whereof he hath all this while deferred, until the conclusion of those matters betwixt the king's majesty and him; which cause of delay is now removed, and the peace in a manner fully determined and concluded, as your said letter proporteth. I did thereupon require to have access unto the said governour, who then was, and yet is, sick at his own house of Hamilton, almost thirty English miles from hence; and upon my request and desire of access unto him, he wrote me this letter here inclosed, and sent to me therewith one David Panter, ‡ his secretary and chief counsellor, to know the cause of my desire to speak with him. Whereupon I entred with the said David Panter in that matter, touching the said cardinal and earl of Lennox, according to the contents of your said letter, and prayed him to signify the same unto the governour, putting him in remembrance of such communication as heretofore hath passed betwixt the said governour and me, in that behalf; and of his alledgeance of the cause of the stay of his pro-

* Sir Anthony Brown, knight of the garter, and master of the horse. He was named by Henry one of the executors of his will. Sir Anthony died 6th May 1548.

† Sir William afterwards lord Paget, joint-secretary with sir William Petre. He died 9th June, 1563.

‡ David Pander, or Panter, an excellent classical scholar, and about this time commendator of Cambuskenneth. He was much employed in foreign negociation, and was finally made bishop of Ross. He died in 1558. The Royal Epistles, compiled by him and his uncle Patrick Panter, are monuments of their skill in the Latin tongue. Panter, as a churchman and retainer of the cardinal, was unfriendly to the English match, and is severely censured by Buchanan, for his share in breaking it off.

ceedings against the said cardinal and earl: which cause, I told him, was now removed, as is aforesaid. And the said David Panter promised me, "That he would signify the same unto the said governour." And in discourse with him of the premisses, he seemed to assure me, "that the governour remained still in great choler and displeasure against the said cardinal, and specially against the earl of Lennox, with a vehement desire to be revenged of them; which," he said, "there was no doubt but as soon as the governour should know that the peace were concluded, he would put in execution, if God should send him health." Yet, I am privily advertised, that the cardinal hath made such earnest labour by friends unto the said governour for his favour, that he hath been thereby induced to forget and mitigate a great piece of his displeasure towards him: But what he will do in that behalf, it shall shortly appear; and as I shall see the success thereof, I shall not fail to advertise of the same accordingly.

Semblably, having received letters from my lord of Suffolk; by the which I do perceive the king's majesty's pleasure touching the entry of the prisoners now at midsummer, and the respite of those which his majesty, for consideration, hath respited till Lammas, I have likewise signified the same to the said governour by the said David Panter; who hath promised me, "that order shall be taken immediately for the accomplishment thereof, according to the king's majesty's pleasure in all points." But it is not possible for those that shall enter to keep their just day now at midsummer, the time is so short: As shortly after as is possible they shall enter. And by the next I shall advertise your lordships of the names of those which shall enter, and also of the names of those which shall remain till Lammas, according to the king's majesty's appointment. Finally, I received yesternight your lordships letters of the 17th of June from Pirgooth, mentioning, that certain sail of Frenchmen, to the number of sixteen or seventeen, were seen betwixt Dover and Calais, and supposed to draw towards those parts; whereof the king's majesty's pleasure is, I should enquire diligently whether the same were coming towards the Firth, or to any

place of Scotland, and thereof to advertise with all diligence. According whereunto I have made search, and enquired, and thereupon have learned, that there is a Frenchman come into the haven here of Leith, laden with wines, who saith, he came in company with the said sixteen sail from Diep; and left them, six days ago, between Humber and Flamburgh, had in a chase, after six sail, either of Englishmen or Flemings. He saith, they be all Frenchmen, come out of Diep, at their own charge and adventure to scour the seas, and think to meet our Iseland fleet in those parts as they come homewards. I caused my lord of Angus, being now here, to send one aboard the said Frenchman that is come into this haven; and also I used all such other means as I could to know the truth, what should be the intent and purpose of the said sixteen sail of Frenchmen; but more than is aforesaid I cannot yet learn. They be not yet come into the Firth, nor, as far as I can perceive, purpose to draw to any place of Scotland; but I have spoken to my said lord of Angus to lay watch on the coasts of this realm, and to have regard where they shall be come, which he hath promised me to do. Some say, they should meet with certain ships and hulks of the king of Denmark, to the number of twenty or thirty sail, hereabout those coasts, and should join altogether to keep the seas against the emperor and the king's majesty; and some say, they will land all here in Scotland, to take part with the cardinal and the earl of Lennox against the governour. These seem to be flying tales; for the said Frenchman, that is come hither into this haven, saith assuredly, they be but rovers, come forth to the seas out of Diep at their own adventure, as is aforesaid, and never a gentle nor honest man that is captain among them. Nevertheless, I have signified the same to the governour here of myself, by the said David Panter, and advised him to look into it, which may percase the more excite and stir him against the said cardinal and earl of Lennox; and as I shall hear further what shall become of the said sixteen sail of Frenchmen, whereunto I will have good regard, and also how all other things shall succeed

here, I shall not fail to advertise with all diligence accordingly. And thus, &c.

To my Lords of SUFFOLK and DURHAM, 25th June, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that this morning I received your letters of 23d of June, with also the Scottish ambassador's letters to the governour, which I have addressed unto him presently : And yesternight he sent me word, that, being now recovered of his late sickness, he intendeth to be here to-morrow in Edinburgh, and then will commune with me of those matters, which I lately advertised him of by David Panter, touching the prosecution of the cardinal and the earl of Lennox; and also that, touching the entry of the prisoners, he had already sent forth letters to warn every man to his entry ; but he would not resolve who shall remain here, and be respited to Lammas, untill he come hither and speak with me in that behalf. For the English prisoners likewise, which the king's majesty would have respited till the said time of Lammas, whose names be contained in a schedule here inclosed, the governour advertised me that he hath already written his letters to their takers for their said respite. And as soon as he cometh hither, which, as he saith, will be to-morrow, I shall, with God's grace, be in hand with him, both for the ordering and perfection of that matter of the prisoners' entry, and also for the proclamation of the truce established to the first of August.

Touching the French navy, I can hear no more than I have written; but now, upon your writing, I shall eftsoons cause the Frenchman, that is come into this haven of Leith, to be communed withall, and by all the ways and means that I can use, I will cause him to be groped and ensearched of as much as he knoweth, or at least will confess of the said French fleet. Indeed he saith, they be all ships of Diep, come out at their own charge and adventure, well appointed for the wars; and that they look for to meet with certain ships and hulks of the

king of Denmark, at the least twenty sail, and so to join with them for to keep the seas against the king's majesty and the emperor." Thus he saith; but what the truth is God knoweth, and as I can learn thereof, I shall advertise from time to time; and, in the mean season, as I have already, shall again warn the governour here, and all the rest of such as be addicted to the king's majesty, to look well unto it for their own indemnity, which I think it standeth them upon to do, as I suppose they will do accordingly. And thus, &c.

To the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, 30th June, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that this morning the governour here hath had news from Aberdeen, that the sixteen sail of Frenchmen, lying on the coast there, have landed a few of their company both at Aberdeen and other places thereabouts, and have convoyed certain writings to the queen-dowager, the cardinal, and the earl of Lennox. And albeit the captain, and such of the Frenchmen as came on land at Aberdeen, do say, that they remain and keep on that coast for to encounter a certain fleet of Flemings; yet it is thought, that they are come thither for some other great purpose; and the governour is advertised, that they have at the least two thousand men of war aboard, which keep themselves very close and secret with their ships. And also it is thought, that they have brought with them the money and munition, whereof I wrote in my last letters, that is to say, 50,000, crowns, 10,000 pikes, 2000 hagbuts, and certain pieces of artillery. Whereupon the governour is resolved to go forthwith to Linlithgow, and to take order for the sure keeping of the young queen's person, whom I have advised him to remove here to the castle of Edinburgh. He assureth me, that he will be sure of her person, and saith, "that, having the king's majesty's order and assistance, he esteemeth not much the power of his adversaries, nor yet for all the aid that France can give them." But, for all that I could say afore or adver-

tise, both unto himself and also to my lord of Angus, I could not make them savour nor believe that the Frenchmen would come into those parts for such purpose as now beginneth to appear ; but now they begin to smell it, and to stir a little towards the resistance of such inconvenience as else might ensue. And as I shall see and hear further, I will advertise. And presently the governour hath written letters to his ambassadors there touching this matter, which he prayeth me to convoy in my packet, as your lordships shall herewith receive the same accordingly, &c.

To the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, 11th July, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that this morning I received your letters of the 28th of June, with the articles containing the words and sayings of Drummond, touching such communication as passed betwixt him and his father-in-law of the governour, and the unsurety and danger of the young queen's person ; and also touching such communication as was passed betwixt him and the sheriff of Ayr at Glasgow. And, to the First, Indeed, afore his departure hence, he declared in effect like matter unto me, which I took to be of such importance, as I thought it more than necessary to be tryed ; insomuch, that I was so plain with the said Drummond, that I told him, I would not take him to be so good a servant to the king's majesty as he pretended, unless he would cause me to have assured knowledge of the truth of it. And besides that, I told him plainly, that if the governour had moved any such matter to his father-in-law, the same had not done his duty to his princess, nor to the realm, to conceal it. And when the said Drummond saw that I took it for so earnest a matter, he seemed to be somewhat abashed therewith, and prayed me to be good to him, and he would, for his discharge, cause me to speak with his good-father, of whom he had learned it : Which though I required him most instantly to do, yet he accomplished not ; but, very soon af-

ter, departed hence to London. Wherefore, because he hath, since my coming hither, told some light and untrue tales, it made me the rather to believe that this also was no gospel. Nevertheless, I determined with myself to try out the truth thereof, and have made sundry means to speak with the said laird of Calder; which yet I could not do, by reason he cometh not to the court, but keepeth always at home in his own house. And now I shall not fail to devise some means to speak with him, and try the truth, if I can. And rather than it fail, I will take some occasion to ride to his house to him, (which is not past twelve miles hence,) if otherwise I cannot speak with him. And as I shall further learn thereof, I shall not fail to advertise accordingly. To the second, The sheriff of Ayr is now at Ayr, in the west parts of this realm, so that I cannot presently speak with him; but as soon as I may conveniently speak with him, I shall not fail to accomplish the contents of your letters in that behalf. And for the matter touching the earl of Lennox, your lordships shall understand, that the earl of Angus hath told me lately, "that the earl of Lennox would gladly make an alliance with him, and marry his daughter the lady Margaret Douglas, whose marriage," the said earl of Angus saith, "he referreth wholly to the king's majesty."* Touching the earl of Argyle, he is far hence dwelling in the Highland; so that I cannot speak nor commune with him myself, for to win him to the king's majesty's devotion; but such other ways and means, as may be devised therefore, I shall observe and accomplish to the uttermost of my poor wit. And to say mine opinion of him, for that I have perceived of him, in such communications and conferences as I have had with him, at his once being here since my coming hither; I think him to be a good and reasonable gentleman, well minded to the increase of the amity between those two realms, and to the uniting and conjunction of them both in one, by this marriage now in treaty between my lord prince's

* Lady Margaret Douglas was the daughter of the earl of Angus by the queen-dowager of James IV. and was therefore the niece of the English monarch, at whose court she now resided. The proposed match was afterwards concluded.

grace and the daughter of Scotland. And the governour hath a special trust and credit in him ; who hath promised the said governour, “ that if he will prosecute the earl of Lennox, he will undertake either to take him, or put him out of the Highland,” as the governour told me himself: so that he is esteemed and taken to be wholly on the governour’s party ; and yet I know that he is much addicted to the cardinal. Furthermore, I have delivered this day the ambassador’s letters to the governour, who taketh in marvellous good part the king’s majesty’s sending of the six ships to ly in the mouth of the river of Clyde for the apprehension of the five ships of Diep, mentioned in your said letters ; and hath promised me, that he will forthwith take order for the victualling of them as appertaineth. Finally, the French navy, which I lately advertised you did ly before Aberdeen, are now before Arbroath, where the cardinal is ; but what they purpose, we cannot yet learn the certainty. It is said, that one Monsieur de Rohan, of Bretanny, is among them ; and that there be 4000 men of war at the least in the ships, whercof is 1000 hagbuteers. They keep still the seas along the coasts, and ly now afore Arbroath, as is aforesaid, without pressing to land any number ; and say themselves, that they ly on that coast to meet with the Flemings : but surely it is thought they come to convoy away the young queen, and also the old, if they can work their purpose to effect. Whereunto the governour assureth me, that he will have such regard as they shall fail of their intent ; and hath laid sure guard and good await about the house of Linlithgow where the said queens are, and intendeth himself to go ly there in the town, and my lord of Angus and other noblemen with him, till the whole purpose of this French navy shall be discovered. For he telleth me, that the young queen cannot be conveniently removed, because she is a little troubled with the breeding of teeth. And where the said Drummond saith, that the governour should mind her destruction ; by my truth I cannot see but he tendreth as much her health, preservation, and surety, as if she were his own natural child. What shall further become of the French navy, and also how all other things

shall go here worthy advertisement, I shall not fail, God willing, to signify the same with all speed accordingly. And thus, &c.

To the King's Majesty, 13th July, 1543.

Please it your royal majesty to understand, that I have received your most gracious letters of the 7th of July, with the copies of the treaties, both of the peace and also of the marriage, and your majesty's commission to demand the ratification of the same, with such other copies and writings as it pleased your majesty to address unto me at that time.* And, with the grace of God, I shall not fail, to the uttermost of my poor wit and power, to accomplish the contents of your majesty's said letters, in such sort as is to me prescribed by the same according to my most bounden duty: and also of the success of the same, and of all other things worthy advertisement, I shall advertise with such diligence as the case shall require. And whereas (being now covenanted by the said treaty, that your majesty should have certain persons resident here about the young queen's person, for the causes and considerations expressed in the said treaty) it hath pleased your majesty to appoint me and my wife for to supply and furnish that part of the said treaty: And, for that purpose, your majesty's pleasure is, I should take order for the convoyance of my wife hither as soon as I can conveniently. I have thought it my bounden duty to render unto your royal majesty mine humble and lowly thanks upon my knees, for that it hath pleased your majesty to conceive such an opinion of us, as to think us meet to serve your highness in a place of such trust and credit. And as I am bounden, so shall I not fail (my life enduring) to serve most willingly, either here or wheresoever, and

* The treaty of peace and marriage was to be affirmed on the part of Henry by his subscription seal and oath, and in that of Scotland by a confirmation and oath in name of the three estates of parliament, and by the governour's subscription and the queen's great seal.

in what sort it shall please your majesty to command me, to the uttermost of my wit and power ; assuring also for my poor wife, that she hath as good will to serve, according to your majesty's appointment, as any woman on life. But as she is most unmeet to serve for such a purpose, as your majesty hath now appointed, having never been brought up at court, nor knowing what appertaineth thereto ; so that, for lack of wit, and convenient experience in all behalfs, she is undoubtedly not able to supply the place to your majesty's honour ; so, also, though she were meet therefore, yet is she now in such case (being great with child) as she is not able to take such a long journey upon her, nor is it possible for me to convoy her hither this summer ; and when winter cometh, the journey is such, so long, foul, and tedious, as no woman can well travel or endure. So that, besides that she is most unmeet for the purpose, for the causes before expressed, I know her also to have such impediments as she cannot continue to supply the same, nor yet, though she were meet, can I conveniently have her convoyed hither afore the next summer ; which I have thought my bounden duty to signify unto your majesty, lest your highness should be frustrated and deceived of your expectation in that behalf. For mine own part, it shall be great comfort and pleasure to me to remain here, or elsewhere, where I may have occasion to serve your majesty, so long as shall stand with your most gracious pleasure. And, in my poor opinion, it were the more necessary, that she, whom your majesty would have to be resident about the young queen's person here, were a grave and discreet woman, of good years and experience ; and the better if she were a widow, as I think the lady Edongcomb were a meet woman for such purpose, and many others, whereof I doubt not your majesty hath choice enough ; most humbly beseeching your majesty to pardon this my presumption and bold writing, which I do in respect of my duty ; and for that I think it convenient that your majesty should be served with such as be meet, and can serve to your majesty's honour and contentation.

The estate of this realm is so perplexed, that I see neither order nor obedience in the same; and now there is appointed a convention of the lords and great men, to be present for the ratification of this treaty, and also for to devise upon some good ways, to bring the realm to a better order and perfection: but it is thought that many and of the greatest lords, as Huntley, Argyle, Bothwell, Murray, and others, will not appear. The French navy is now no more spoken of here, nor we cannot learn where they are become. Some say, they are gone to meet with the navy of Denmark, which should join with them; but they were not seen near the coasts of this realm this seven-night. As I shall hear and perceive thereof, I will advertise from time to time, as the case shall require. I have to-day spoken with the sheriff of Ayr touching such matter as John Drummond declared unto your majesty of the earl of Lennox; and the said sheriff saith, "That, indeed, there was such communication betwixt him and the said Drummond towards that effect, but not in such sort as it might be taken thereby, that he was in hope that the said Lennox might be induced or reconciled from France to your majesty's devotion. For he thinketh assuredly, that if France will support the said Lennox, as he daily looketh to have money and munition from thence; for the which, he sent one Stewart into France since his coming hither, and yet hath received no answer since his going hence from him: in that case, that if this aid of money and munition do come, the said Lennox will not surely be won from France, but will cause much trouble, as is thought, in this realm: and many great men being also well given to France, by the procurement of the cardinal, do also abide out from the governour upon that purpose; which the sheriff thinketh, if this aid come not out of France, will be easily reduced to good conformity; and till they be brought to due obedience unto the governour here, which must be by fair means or foul, there will be no time that can serve to practise with the earl of Lennox, or any of the others, that be not well dedicate to your majesty, to win or reconcile them to your majesty's devotion; for if any means should be used in that behalf, without the knowledge of the go-

vernour, it might be a means to bring him into a great suspicion of your majesty. And though he thinketh that the said Lennox would be content to marry the said lady Margaret Douglas, yet whether he would have her so, as for her he would leave France, and adhere firmly to your majesty, he is in great doubt; but he thinketh surely if the governour and the said Lennox were good friends, and that Lennox would obey and acknowledge the governour, as the parliament hath admitted, in that case the said Lennox might be the more easily induced both to the marriage, to leave France, and also to be reconciled to your majesty." This is the said sheriff's mind and opinion in that part, which he prayed me to signify unto your majesty.

Finally, where it hath pleased your royal majesty of late, to bestow on me the office of your great gardrobe, which the lord Windsor lately had; considering it is an office of charge, and that your majesty's pleasure is, to have me to remain here; so that I neither knowing the estate of the office, nor yet how I shall discharge my duty towards your majesty in the same, I must needs, upon my knees, humbly beseech your majesty to be my good lord in that behalf: it may therefore please the same, to appoint my very good friend Mr Wriothesley to help to discharge me in the said office during mine absence. And to the intent he may the better look to it, I shall most humbly beseech your highness, to make him joint patentee with me; in which case, I doubt not, he is so much my friend, as he will not take any part of the fee from me, nor yet meddle with the office when I am in England, otherwise than as he and I shall agree. Eftsoons beseeching your majesty most humbly to pardon me, that I thus presume to trouble your highness with mine own private causes, and of your accustomed, most noble and gentle nature and benignity, to take my boldness therein in good part; for I have no refuge but only your majesty, whom, and none other, I do and will depend upon, as I am most bounden. And thus, &c.

To the King's Majesty, 16th July, 1543.

Please it your royal majesty to understand, that likeas in my last letters I signified unto your highness, that a convention of the lords was appointed here at Edinburgh, both for the ratification of the treaty now passed, and also to devise some good ways for the establishment of this realm; where it was thought, that sundry of the greatest lords would not appear: so now the governour telleth me, "That the cardinal, the earls of Huntley, Argyle, Lennox, and Bothwell, do make great assemblies and gatherings of men to very great numbers, intending to meet at Stirling the 20th of this month, and so to come to Linlithgow to surprise the young queen, and afterwards (if they can) to depose and put him down, which," he saith, "is their full intent and purpose. And all this," he saith, "doth proceed by the procurement of the cardinal, who also hath procured the lord Home,* the laird of Balcleuch,† and the Kers, to stir all the mischief and trouble they can on the Borders, and to make rodes and incursions into England, only to break the peace, and breed contention betwixt both the realms; which he prayeth your majesty to consider, and weigh whence it proceedeth, and to bear somewhat with the same, not imputing the fault thereof unto him; which yet, as the case standeth, he cannot remedy." The earl of Murray, as the governour telleth me, is coming towards him, with his own family only, in quiet manner, and is none of the said conventicle. But the earl of Argyle, he saith, hath greatly deceived him; for, besides that he is his near kinsman, he hath made him many fair promises, and is sworn to him, which now he seemeth to have clearly forgotten, and is knit and joined against him, with the said cardinal and earl of Lennox. Nevertheless he telleth me, that he had made out letters to all his friends and servants, and hath warned the

* George, fourth lord Home.

† Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch.

country, in the queen's name, upon pain of death, to be ready forthwith to resist this rebellion. So that, he assureth, that within those three or four days, here will be 20,000 men; and, with the grace of God, he saith, if the said cardinal and earls of the adverse party do come forward and keep their appointment, he will surely meet them in the field; and in case they retire, he will seek them, and spend his life upon them. This, he saith, is his utter determination, not to desist till he be revenged of the cardinal and his partakers, whatsoever cumber or travel he endure for the same. And the chief cause of this rebellion against him, is for God's cause and your majesty's; for they make their pretence of this commotion and insurrection to be for the defence of the faith and holy church, and also for the preservation of the liberty and freedom of the realm, which, they say, he hath sold to you, calling him an heretic, and an good English-man; wherewith the people be so incensed, that they arise full and whole in the north parts, as the bruit goeth. Wherefore, the governour saith, that his trust is in your majesty, and that you will aid and support him in such wise, as he may be the better able to stay the realm, and punish the offenders after their demerits." I asked him, what kind of aid he would demand of your majesty? He said, "That he had men enough, and would not, for his part, bring in no English-men into the realm, unless his adverse party brought in any French-men to take their part, in which case he would apply to your majesty for the aid of English-men. But, in the mean season, if it might like your majesty to give him some furniture and help of money, he would employ it in God's cause and yours: And notwithstanding that his enemies make him all this cumber, only upon intent to impeach him, so that he shall not be able to observe his part and promise now made with your majesty; he saith, he will spend his life in that quarrel, and hold and keep all promises with your majesty, or else die in the field for the same: and to-morrow," he saith, "he will ride to Linlithgow, and ly there about the queen, till his whole force shall assemble; and in case he shall hear that his enemies come forwards, he will remove the queen to the Blackness, and put

sure folks about her there; which," he saith, "is a place of such strength, as it is impregnable; and then will he go towards his adversaries, and, with God's grace, he will over the water at Stirling to meet them in the field. Hereof he prayed me to advertise your majesty with diligence, trusting that your highness will now consider his estate, and the rather help to support him against those who be contrary to God, your majesty, and the common weal of their own country." The bruit is very great of this rebellion and commotion, and of the great gathering of men made by the cardinal and earls aforementioned; but the governour and the earl of Angus seem to be of good courage, and put no doubt to subdue and repress them. What will follow, God knoweth; for undoubtedly there is great appearance of mischief. It is also said, that eleven of the French ships, which have kept off and about the coast here of this realm, do now ly behind an isle, called the May, within the Firth, whereof four of them be great ships of four tops, and seven of a less sort: but for what purpose they ly there, it is unknown. The governour hath knowledge and advertisement of their lying there, and saith, he will have regard to the same.

The Scottish ambassadors be not yet come out of England, and when they shall come, considering what trouble and business is toward, I see not how there shall be any quiet convention of the three estates of the realm, for to pass the ratification of the treaty; nor yet how the hostages shall be laid within the time limited by the treaty, for the performance of the conditions of the marriage. The estate of things here is so perplexed, and such malicious and despiteful people, I think, live not in the world, as is the common people of this realm, specially towards English-men, as I have well found and proved since my coming hither. As all things shall succeed, I shall not fail to advertise with such diligence as the case shall require. And thus, &c.

To the King's Majesty, 17th July, 1543.

Please it your royal majesty to understand, that likeas I wrote in my last letters, that eleven sail of the French ships lay behind the May, within the Firth, so this day are come into Leith here and into Bruntisland, within the said Firth ; seven sail of them so well beaten, that they are not able to keep the seas until they be repaired, and many of their men sore hurt. They say, and so it appeareth, that they met with English-men afore Lastoffe at Erfordness, which have so dressed them ; and they curse the cardinal here, for this, say they, they have gotten for his sake, because the English-men supposed that the queen and the said cardinal had been aship-board with them. They want six or seven sail of their company, and know not whether they be taken or escaped ; but those that be here be so well beaten, that it is thought they will not be meet to go to the seas again this fourtnight, specially the greatest ship among them, which they call the Sacker of Diep ; and in her, they say, there be some English-men, which leapt into her when she was boarded, and so remain prisoners with the French-men : But what English-men they be, or how many they be, or whether it be true or not, I cannot yet learn the certainty ; but as soon as I shall know further in that behalf, I shall not fail to advertise the same indelayedly. This evening, the earl of Angus and the lord Maxwell, who came this day to this town, were with me, and told me, that the cardinal, the earl of Huntley, Argyle, Lennox, and Bothwell, and the lords Home and Balcleuch, with all their partakers, made great preparation and assemblies against the governour and his adherents, and gathered great force ; the cardinal and Huntley in the north parts, Argyle and Lennox in the west parts, and Bothwell, Home, and Balcleuch, in the east parts upon the marches ; so that the governour is yet in doubt which way to direct his journey first, and surely there is great appearance of much trouble and inconve-

nience. Wherefore, they told me, that the governour sent them to me to devise with me for my removing to Temptallon,* because, when he is gone out of this town, he doubteth (the country being all in such a stir and commotion) how I should be entreated. And so, before they depart this town, I have resolved with them to go to Temptallon aforesaid, not without cause, for the governour being here, I have not been used in friendly sort; and if he were away, I find the malice of the people here such towards all English-men, that they would not lett to execute the same to the destruction both of me and mine. For the governour being in the town, as I walked here in a garden, and some of my folks with me, on the backside of my lodging, one (but I cannot tell who) shot an half-hag amongst us, and missed not one of my men, I dare say, four inches; besides other despiteous parts which they have played me since I came hither, whereby they have largely declared their malice, and yet the offender can never be known. The said earl of Angus hath subscribed the articles of the device, which your majesty sent unto me with your last letters; and the lord Maxwell telleth me, "that as soon as he received the like articles from your majesty by his son, he forthwith subscribed the same, and sent it to your majesty." The rest I have not yet spoken with, because they be not here; but as soon as I can possibly, I shall not fail to accomplish that part, according to your gracious commandment. I call and cry still upon the governour, and other your majesty's friends here, to look to the surety of the young queen's person, which, they say, they will do; but the governour will not be induced to remove her hither to the castle of Edinburgh, saying, "that he will so provide for that part, as he will be sure enough of her;" which way they be not yet certainly resolved. As they shall resolve in that behalf, and as all other things shall go here, I shall advertise your majesty from time to time, as I may get knowledge accordingly. And thus, &c.

* A castle belonging to the earl of Angus. The governour, who was now almost determined to join the French faction, was desirous to get rid of Sadler.

*A Letter from the King's Majesty to Sir RALPH SADLER, 22d July,
1543.*

Trusty and right well beloved, we greet you well, and by your letters of the 16th of this present, we have at length perceived the perplexed state of the affairs there, with the determination of the governour touching the same. And to the intent he may now, in this time of trouble, receive some comfort at our hands; likeas we have already written to our cousin of Suffolk to send unto you 1000 pounds to be delivered unto him by way of a present, or token from us; so we have now written unto him such letters as you shall perceive by the copy sent herewith unto you, willing you for your credence to declare unto him as followeth.

First, You shall declare unto him, that where we perceive by your advertisement, how the cardinal, with his complices and partakers, labour to make a revolt and rebellion against him: we be right glad (standing things between us as they do) to understand how prudently he prepareth both to withstand and refell the same, and also to put in surety the person of the young queen, which is the mark they shoot at; thinking, that if they might once get her into their hands, they should thereby make such a party, as they should be able to dispose of the government of the realm as to them should seem most expedient.

Secondly, Where he seemed, in his last conference with you, to desire some aid of money of us for his supply in this trouble, ye shall tell him, that, over and beside the token which we have sent him, if the case so require, giving us warning in time, we shall so help him, and consider his case, as he shall have good cause to say, we be an assured friend towards him and the commonwealth of that realm, as our amity now requireth. But ye shall tell him, that, seeing all the nobles of Scotland have chosen him to be their governour by a common con-

sent, and have subscribed to the same ; our opinion is, that he should not only make their doings therein manifest to the whole world, whereby their inconstancy and disloyalty may appear ; but also, being now well learned by the example and experience of the cardinal and others, what it is to give scope and liberty to such as be bent and determined against him, in case any of them come in his hands, he should bestow them where they should do him nor the realm no hurt ; and, in the mean season, upon their open attempt, proclaim and use such of them, as he shall think good, as rebels and traitors to the queen and the realm accordingly.

Thirdly, Where it appeareth, that he mindeth to meet the rebels on the other side of the water, and so to give them battle, if they will abide it ; you shall say, we think it not meet that he should pass the said water, nor put himself in hazard at his enemies call ; but we think it most expedient and necessary for him to take Stirling in his own hands, whereby he may be master of the passage ; and then, as he may be sure to be master of all that is on this side the said water, so he may take advantage of his enemies, and fight with them, or leave them, as shall be most for his own commodity.

Fourthly, Where he desireth us to take in good part for a time, though the Borderers do not as becometh them ; you shall to that tell him, that if he will be so content, we shall so chastise those Borderers, as, with our advice, he may plant others in their places ; for which purpose, we have written to our cousin of Suffolk, and to the lord warden of our marches, to put all our borders in order for the same, willing you to advertise our lieutenant and warden of his determination in this behalf.

Fifthly, Where it appeareth by your letters, that eleven of the French ships, which have kept that coast this long season, ly now in the May ; you shall understand, that being lately the whole number of sixteen, in their return towards France, there encountered with them six of our ships, which took two of them, and had undoubtedly taken the admiral, and moe of the best of them, if they durst have

tarried it; but perceiving themselves at the last too weak, after a sore fight betwixt them, they share off, and these eleven plyed again towards Scotland, though there we cannot yet certainly hear what is become of them. And if the governour think it good, we will send our navy to the May, where they be, to take them, which shall be a great surety to Scotland, and a great discourage to all that depend upon France. But, in that case, the governour must permit our ships to take them, though they should fly into Leith for succour, and also help them with victuals and necessities, if they shall need the same; willing you to know his mind therein, and to signify the same unto us with all diligence, doing what ye can to cause him to stay them till our ships come; and if that will not be granted, then we would ye should have a diligent eye upon them, that you may advertise us a seven-night at the least before they shall be ready to depart, that we may provide and lay for them, in such place for the taking of them by the way as shall be most convenient.

Sixthly, You shall understand, that a sirname, on the west Borders, called the Davidsons, whereof many belong to the earl of Angus and his brother, have lately made sundry incurses into our realm; wherefore our pleasure is, that ye shall declare the same unto the said earl and sir George, advising them to have regard whom they trust and take for their friends; for if these which be towards them should be the first breakers and offenders of the peace, it might give men occasion to think, that either themselves be not so sincere as they be indeed towards us, or else that they foresee not so well whom they trust as appertaineth. And you shall also press the governour as much as you may in the points before specified touching the Borders; the punishment of whom, that is to say of such as be against him, and procure those incurses, shall be a mean to make them also retire home, and percase to leave the party they now take, when the partakers shall have most need of them.

Seventhly, Our pleasure is, that if this matter grow to such a garboil and extremity, as the young queen shall be removed from Linlith-

gow, you shall do what you can, by all good means and perswasion, both with the governour, the earl of Angus, and sir George Douglas, to get her removed to Temptallon; but whether that shall be granted or no, you shall travel, that the old queen may be secluded from her, and left at Linlithgow, or where it shall please her. Which the governour may, and has good cause to do, seeing this conspiracy for her surprise* could not be made but by her consent; the like whereof she will undoubtedly attempt hereafter by all means, so as the young queen cannot be sure in her company; foreseeing that he put most trusty and sure folks about her, both for her sure keeping and preservation of her health accordingly.

Eighthly, Our pleasure is, that you shall also advise the governour, the earl of Angus, and our sure friends there, before they shall join with their enemies, to put all the strong holds in such sure hands and custody, as, whatsoever should chance, they may be preserved and kept against the conspirators, and to the benefit of the party which be obedient, and have concluded with us upon this peace. And if it shall come to the fight, you shall require the governour on our behalf, that albeit it be their manner to light all on foot when they join in battle, yet he will, at our desire, preserve one thousand good men, with a good captain, still on horseback, so as the same may stand still in a wing, or stale, till the forces be joined, and then to enter freely upon the rebels; which, if he follow it, shall be much to his benefit, and to the great discomfit of his enemies. Given under our signet, at our manour of Oatland, the 22d of July, the 35th year of our reign, &c.

* He means the enterprize of the cardinal and the nobles assembled at Stirling, to possess themselves of the young queen's person.

To the King's Majesty, 31st July, 1543.

Please it your royal majesty to understand, that this day the governour sent for me, and told me, "that the lord Fleming, and the bishop of Orkney," which be both knit and joined with the cardinal and that party against the governour, "had been with him, as sent from the cardinal and his complices; and, on their behalf, proponed, that if the governour would not hold this convention at Stirling, but needs would have them come hither to Edinburgh; in that they desired for their security, first, to have pledges for them, that they should come and go safe; the earl of Cassils, the abbot of Paisley, sir George Douglas, the earl of Glencairn's son and heir, and the lord Maxwell's son and heir: 2. That the castle of Edinburgh should be delivered out of the governour's hands to the provost of the town here; and that all the pikes, guns, and such weapons as were now in this ruffle taken out of the same, should be forthwith laid in again: 3. That all such footmen as the governour had waged, being about seven hundred, should be discharged: 4. That the town of Leith (who be noted all to be good Christians)* should have commandment not to stir from home, nor to come to this town during the time of this convention: 5. That their councils should be kept in the town, in their judicial house, called the Tolbooth: 6. That the governour should have no halberts nor weapons borne about him. Those," the governour told me, "be their desires; which be so unreasonable, as he neither hath, nor will grant them. But because they shall have no just cause of dread of life, or bodily harm, he hath now sent unto them the earl Marishal, the abbot of Paisley, and sir James Lermouth, to charge them, by his authority in the queen's name, to come hither to this convention, in quiet manner for the conclusion

* Reformers. The citizens of Leith have, down to the present day, been eager Calvinists.

and ratification of the treaties now concluded with your majesty ; and further, to devise upon such things as may tend to the quietation of this realm, and for the commonweal of the same ; and if they, or any of them, be afraid of bodily hurt, he is content to lay his own son in pledge, that they shall come and go safe. And also, if any of them be afraid of sir George Douglas, he shall in likewise lay his son, the master of Morton ;* or if they be afraid of any that is here about the governour, whosoever they be afraid of shall lay them in a pledge." This, the governour saith, he hath offered them ; which I told him was too much. But he thinketh assuredly, that for all that they will not come here ; and that they mind nothing less, than that the treaties now taken with your majesty should take effect ; " for the bishop of Orkney," he saith, " did privately practise with him in such sort as the earl of Huntley did afore, for the conclusion of a marriage between the young queen and his son, and made him large promises in that part on the behalf of the said cardinal and his complices." But the governour remaineth firm towards your majesty, and, as he saith, will rather be torn in pieces, than swerve from his promise made to your highness. And also, he told me, " that the said cardinal and his fellows, notwithstanding that they now make a face and pretence of convention, for quietness and agreement to be had among them, yet they mind nothing less ; for while they now dissemble and be a treating of the same, he is credibly informed, that they do secretly practise of new to assemble and gather their folk, intending to come suddenly upon him, and to put him down, if they can. For what with that he hath thus suffered them, and again with the hope they have of aid of money and munition out of France, (which is much bruited here to be coming,) with nineteen or twenty sail of great ships, and ambassadors from the French king and the bishop of Rome, whereof one should be the duke of Guise's son, or the duke himself, (as a Frenchman that is here arrived, whom I wrote of in my last letters, doth plainly declare and af-

* Afterward earl of Morton, and regent of Scotland.

firm,) those rebels do therewith grow into such a pride, that he thinketh surely they will never be daunted but by force and battle, for the which he maketh him ready. And here he complained much of lack of money, saying, "that he neither had money, nor yet could get his plate coined in time to do him service;" wherefore his only refuge was to your majesty, praying me to take some way and order with my lord Suffolk for his present relief, till your majesty might eftsoons be advertised of his necessity. In which case, his trust is, your majesty will help him, both with men and money, in such wise as he may be able to repress his enemies; the honour and benefit whereof, he saith, shall be your majesty's: For in case he be so impeached by his enemies, either by convoying away the young queen, or otherwise, that he shall not be able to keep and perform the treaties now passed with your majesty, he assureth me, that he will, in that case, with your majesty's assured friends here, make you such an entry into Scotland, that all shall be your majesty's on this side the water of Forth; alledging, that all the strong-holds in the same, which he rehearsed to me by name, should be at your majesty's will and commandment. This he spake very constantly unto me; wherefore, considering his present necessity, with his good determination towards your majesty, I thought it best, both to put him in comfort, and also to continue him in that good mind and purpose, to offer him, on your majesty's behalf, the one thousand pounds which your majesty before sent him; being hitherto by me stayed at Berwick, as I lately wrote unto your majesty. Which offer he took in very good part, and most humbly thanked your highness for the same; praying me, nevertheless, eftsoons to dispatch a post to your majesty, to advertise the same of his estate, trusting, that your grace would thereupon take order for his further relief, both of money and men, to the number of four or five thousand, whereof one or two thousand to be good archers, which he would most gladly have to be put in readiness to help him, as the case shall require. Thus he prayed me to write unto your majesty, which I promised him to do; beseeching your majesty to pardon my presumption and boldness in

bestowing of your said 1000*l.* in this sort ; which I have done for the best, and for the better advancement of your majesty's affairs. And, to say my poor opinion, if those matters grow to extremity, I see not but your majesty, in and for the attaining of your purpose here, must needs be at further charge to sustain the governour, and such as be assured to your majesty, who have no money to maintain the quarrel withal. For the other party will do what they can for France, from whence they look assuredly for aid ; which maketh them so high, that now they seem nothing to esteem or weigh the governour. I have also communed this day with the earls of Angus, Glencairn, and Cassils, and the lords Maxwell and Somervail ; by whom I can perceive none other, but that, notwithstanding the late appointment with the cardinal and his complices, they think, nevertheless, this matter will grow to a bargain, which they call a battle : For they tell me plainly, that the said cardinal and his folks do secretly gather and assemble their force again ; wherefore they desire much the aid of Englishmen, and specially a good number of good archers, which they would fain put in a readiness forthwith in all events.

The queen's person, they tell me, is indifferently well kept ; and though the cardinal and all his complices do ly now at Stirling, where she is, yet they say, that the barons which keep her,* will not suffer past one or two of them at once, and but one man with him, to come within the gates. And where the old queen desired to have the cardinal lodged within the castle, the said barons would in no wise suffer it ; so that, as they say, whatsoever trouble be within the realm, the young queen's person will be surely preserved for to be delivered into England at the time appointed.

Thus have I declared unto your majesty how things go here at this time ; and to-morrow, I think, it will appear, at the return of the earl Marishal, the abbot of Paisley, and sir James Lermont, where the car-

* Lord Erskine, governor of Stirling castle ; to whom were associated, for the charge of the infant queen's person, the lords Livingstone, Fleming, and Ruthven.

dinal and his complices will come into the governour upon such security as he hath offered them, which, if they refuse, it is facile and easy to be judged that they mind not well towards him, nor yet that the treaties now passed with your majesty should take good effect. As I shall see further hereof, I shall not fail to advertise with diligence. And thus, &c.

A Letter from the King's Majesty to RALPH SADLER, 4th August, 1543.

Trusty and right well-beloved, we greet you well, and have received your letters of the last of July: By the contents whereof, we perceive such conference as you had lately with the governour, the earls of Angus and Glencairn, the lords Maxwell and Somervail, touching the overtures made by the bishop of Orkney and the lord Fleming on the behalf of the cardinal and his complices, being the said lord Fleming and bishop of that party; and also, concerning such aid as the said governour, and the rest before named, do desire of us for their defence and surety, with a repetition of their offers unto us, in case the governour shall not be able so to daunt the cardinal and his partakers, as they shall agree to the ratification of the treaties passed betwixt us, or that the queen shall be convoyed away, whereby they shall not be able to deliver her at the time by the treaties appointed and prescribed. For answer whereunto, our pleasure is, that immediately upon the receipt hereof, you shall make your repair to the governour, and making unto him our hearty commendations, with condign thanks for his honourable proceedings and friendly offers made unto us, you shall declare unto him, that we be of such mind and determination towards him again, as, he may be well assured, that neither now, nor hereafter, shall we suffer him to receive any such damage or dishonour, as he shall not have good cause in the end to say, that he hath had a most constant and faithful friend of us. And for his present relief at this time, we

have, according to his desire, appointed our lieutenant in those parts, to put in order five thousand men, to be addressed unto him, when he and you together shall by your letters desire the same. Which five thousand men shall enter in two parts; the one from the west marches, in the conduct of sir Thomas Wharton, till he shall arrive with the lord Maxwell; and then the said lord Maxwell to be chief captain of that number. The other by the east and middle marches, in the conduct of sir Ralph Evres, knight, Brian Leighton,* Robert Collingwood, and Robert Horsley, esquires, till they shall arrive with the earl of Angus; and then the said earl to be their chief captain; accounting the said earl and lord Maxwell, with all the rest of our friends there, which adhere surely to him, to be of such honour and truth, as we dare well commit the leading of our people to them. Providing, that the said earl of Angus and the lord Maxwell do send some trusty men of honour and estimation to receive the said sir Thomas Wharton and sir Ralph Evres, with such as come with them at the said Borders, to help to conduct them and victual them, till they shall join with their other forces; and shall also, after they be joined, use the advice and counsel of the said sir Thomas, and sir Ralph, Brian Leighton, Robert Collingwood, and Robert Horsley, which shall have the conduct of them into Scotland, in all things touching any enterprize and exploit to be done, and likewise for the victualling and placing of the same accordingly. And where the governour desireth to have such as we shall send for his aid, bring some victual with them; we have, for his satisfaction herein, not only taken order that they shall bring as much victual with them as can conveniently be prepared in the short time of their assembly, but also, that plenty of corn shall be sent into the Firth, both from Newcastle and from Berwick; not doubting, but the governour, with the rest of the earls and others our friends, and specially those which shall have the chief charge of our subjects, will.

* Sir Ralph Evers and sir Brian Leighton, or Laytoun, were both distinguished warriors, and were killed at the battle of Ancram-moor, 1445.

take order, that when it shall arrive, it may be employed for the victualling of the same, as appertaineth. And our further pleasure is, that you shall also declare to the said governour, and the rest of the lords our friends there, that in case the number now sent shall not so daunt the said cardinal, as he and his complices shall be glad and fain to consent to the ratification of the treaties, the laying pledges and all other things convenient, or that the said cardinal shall convoy away the young queen's person, we will prepare a greater furniture to repress their malice ; not doubting but the governour will (in case of that necessity) deliver unto us the holds which he hath promised to deliver ; assuring the said governour, that in case they take away the person of the young queen, and dispose her marriage otherwise than by his own consent, we will, by force of our title and superiority, make him king of the rest of Scotland beyond the Firth, aiding him with our power by sea and by land to recover the same, so as he go through with the overture of marriage betwixt his son and our daughter the lady Elizabeth, which is of such sort, and shall be such honour and establishment to his son after him, as he could not recover the like party in Christendom. And being now in such terms with the governour and the rest of our friends there, that we must account our affairs all one ; we can do no less but to remember unto him, how they have been heretofore abused by the cardinal and his partakers, and what inconveniences have ensued of the same, to the intent they may hereafter beware of the craft and falshood of him and his angels, and utterly stop their ears to any thing that can be said on his behalf. Wherefore you shall desire and pray both the governour and the rest of the said lords our friends, and specially the earl of Glencairn and the lord Maxwell, to weigh their affairs more deeply, and to consider how they have been now twice deluded by the crafty means of the said cardinal ; once at his deliverance, and now again at the deliverance of the young queen ; requiring them, at the contemplation of our advice and counsel, and also in respect of their own honours and estimation, which shall be much defaced in the world, if he should eftsoons deceive them the

third time, to beware of him, and utterly to close their ears, as is afore-said, against him and his complices. Which advice and counsel if they follow not, but percase shall tolerate many things in hope of better, whereby he shall get the upper-hand and victory of them, what scruple soever they have of an honest zeal, which would be loath to have any slaughter in their native country; they may be assured in that case that he will spare none of them, but dispatch them, either together, or one after another, as he shall have his most opportunity. And therefore, seeing the said cardinal is now at Stirling, and travelleth secretly to assemble again his army, to the intent he may both depose the governour, and of all the rest dispose at his pleasure; considering his force, being so lately disparkled, will not soon or easily be brought again together, our advice and counsel is, that the governour shall secretly and suddenly, in any wise, send a good band of his men to Stirling, and either there to take him and bring him to the castle of Edinburgh, or at the least to drive him over the water, and then to set such an assured order for the safe keeping of the bridge, as neither the queen shall be convoyed away, though the barons having the keeping of her would consent thereto at the said cardinal's request and desire, nor that the cardinal, or any of his complices, be permitted to pass the bridge, or that any of them on this side do resort to him, but at the governour's will and pleasure. Given under our signet, &c.

To the King's Majesty, 10th August, 1543.

Please it your royal majesty to be advertised, that whereas I wrote in my last letters that the queen-dowager had sent for me, so have I now been with her at Stirling; and, at mine access unto her, she told me, "That she had sent for me, not only that I should know that she was now the same woman that I left her at my last being with her, both for her good mind and zeal to accomplish all things which might be to your highness's good contentation, and specially to the perfec-

tion of the marriage betwixt my lord prince's grace and her daughter; which," she said, "she was now in better hope than ever she was should take good effect, the rather, for that the noblemen of the realm had now delivered her out of the governour's hands, and bestowed her in a good place, in the custody of such barons as were appointed by the parliament. But also to declare unto me, on the behalf of the said noblemen, (as, she said, they had desired her to do,) that they were all well-minded and dedicate to the performance and accomplishment of all things contained in the treaties of peace and marriage, lately passed with your majesty; and for that purpose were appointed to convene with the governour, the 20th of this month, for the ratification of the same. And for her own part," she said, "that as nothing could be more honourable for her and her daughter than this marriage, so she desired the perfection thereof with all her heart, which she now was in good hope should take effect, the rather for the cause afore expressed, and also for that your majesty had so wisely provided to have good pledges for the delivery of her daughter into England, at her age of ten years. But in the mean season she would so look to her surety, now that she was in so good a place and sure guard, that, with the grace of God, she should be in good plight to be delivered at the said time." And when she had all said, I (first remembring her of what determination and mind she shewed herself to me at my first coming to the country) told her, that I was glad to perceive by her words, that she remained still the same woman towards your majesty, trusting that her deeds should also declare the same: But much I marvelled, that the noblemen she spoke of should rise, as they lately did, and rebell against him whom they had chosen to be their governour, and were sworn unto him; whereby, if the said governour had been as desirous of revenge, and as malicious as they, and had not rather used great attemperance, wisdom, and policy, to mitigate and appease the same, no doubt but great effusion of blood must needs have ensued. Wherefore, as for my part I thought they could not honourably maintain their so doing; so I feared the whole world would note their untruth

in that behalf. Hereunto she answered as earnestly as might be, "That they had good cause so to do, for their quarrel was both for the surety and health of their sovereign lady and mistress, and also for the common weal of the realm; for where the whole body of the realm had appointed by parliament, that her daughter should be kept in the realm by certain barons named for that purpose, the governour would never permit the same to be put in execution, but held her still in his own custody, and put such about her as him listed, in such wise, as both she and her daughter were holden as it were in a prison, whereof she had many times complained, and could find no remedy. And ever," she said, "when she complained, they would bear her in hand, that she minded to transport her daughter out of the realm: And this," she said, "was one cause why the noblemen assembled in this sort, with their power, to relieve their queen and mistress, and to put her in sure custody, such as was ordained and decreed by parliament. Another cause," she said, "was, for that the governour used, in the direction of the great affairs of this realm, and specially of those weighty matters lately treated on with your majesty, only the advice and counsel of certain private persons, without calling thereunto the great and notable personages of this realm, wherewith they were not contented, and would be right glad that your majesty should understand, that they, for their parts, would at all times be as ready and willing to agree to all things as should be to your majesty's reasonable contentation, and the weal of this realm, as the governour, or any others within the same: And that whatsoever was done in such sort by private persons, without their consent and agreement, could not be available, nor they that had so privately passed the same, could be able to perform their promise in that behalf."

In those two points I answered her, that, for the first, whatsoever pretence they made, they all, or at least some of their party, as the earl of Montrose,* the lords Erskine and Fleming, did perfectly know, that

* William Graham, second earl of Montrose.

there was a special article in the treaty of marriage, that the young queen's person should be in the custody of such barons as were appointed by parliament, which should have been accomplished, though they had made no insurrection for the same. And in the great matters betwixt your majesty and this realm, I told her, I could well excuse the governour, for that he used no private counsel therein, but the whole advice of as many of the nobles of the realm, as would come to give him their counsel; as at the dispatch of the first ambassadors into England, which were dispatched by the three estates of the realm in parliament: And likewise at the second time, the earl of Glencairn and sir George Douglas, the parliament yet continuing, were dispatched by them all, none absent but the cardinal and the earl of Huntley: And, third, when sir George Douglas returned, he was again dispatched (the parliament still continuing) by the whole body of the same; being as many of the nobility of the realm present at the same dispatch as would, upon the governour's letters sent unto them, repair to him for that purpose; and, therefore, I thought, that such as came not at the governour's sending for, ought rather to answer to their disobedience in that part, than that they have any just cause to say, that the governour used private counsel in those matters, wherein they would not come to give him their advice, according to their duties. And sure I was, that the earl of Montrose, the lords Erskine and Fleming, were present both at the first, second, and last dispatches, and consented to all things concluded in the same, which were so honourable and beneficial to Scotland, as I thought no man of reason would disagree to any thing now passed by the said treaties; being assured that nothing is passed by the same, but it was first agreed here by the body of the realm, in form afore expressed: so that, I told her, they could not justly say, that those matters were so privately handled as they alleged; nor yet had they any just cause whereupon to ground their quarrel, and to make such a stir and commotion in the realm, as whereby, if wisdom and temperance had not ruled the governour, must needs have followed great mischief and inconvenience. Wherefore I thought

they had some other purpose in their heads, and nevertheless made this the ground and foundation of their quarrel, to the intent the same might have some honest appearance to the world.

She laboured much to excuse them, and to maintain their action; but she had little reason whereby to justify or approve the same. Once she is very glad, that she is at Stirling, and much she praised thereabout the house, and told me, "That her daughter did grow apace; and soon," she said, "she would be a woman, if she took of her mother;" who, indeed, is of the largest stature of women. And therewith she caused also the child to be brought to me, to the intent I might see her, assuring your majesty, that she is a right fair and goodly child, as any that I have seen, for her age. And then after a little time passed in the beholding of the child, she took me again apart, and making me a short repetition of the cause why she sent for me, as is afore expressed, she prayed me to signify the same to your majesty, which I promised, and so departed from her.

At my return to this town, arrived here your majesty's letters, containing your highness's pleasure to be declared by me to the governour, and others the earls and lords your majesty's friends here, touching the aid of 5000 men, which your highness hath appointed to be sent hither, and the preparation of a greater number, in case of a more necessity; in which case your majesty doubteth not, but the governour will deliver the strong-holds: And also concerning your majesty's promise, in case the person of the young queen be convoyed away, to make him king of the rest of Scotland beyond the Firth, so as he go through with the marriage between your majesty's daughter and his son. And finally, touching the cardinal and his partakers, as in your majesty's said letters is at length expressed. Whereupon I made my repair to the governour; and first (because I would know of him, how things had passed whilst I had been at Stirling) I asked him, whether all matters stood still in good terms? Whereunto he answered me, "That he thought when all was done, that, notwithstanding the fair words of the cardinal and his partakers, they would, or it be long, make him a

new business; for he was certainly informed, that the earls of Huntley, Argyle, and Lennox, did make great preparations, and have, since their arrival at home, given secret charge to all their friends, tenants, and servants, to be ready, with fifteen days victuals, to set forwards with them, against the 20th day of this instant; whereupon he hath resolved here, in council, to send home forthwith the earls of Angus, Cassils, and Glencairn, the lords Maxwell and Somervail, the sheriff of Ayr, and other lords, and others of reputation here, assured of his party, every man unto his own country, to prepare their forces to assemble here and at Linlithgow against the said 20th day. So that," he saith, "he will be ready, or rather afore-hand with his adversaries, in such wise as they shall not suddenly prevent him, as they did at their last commotion." And for this purpose, the earl of Glencairn and the lord Somervail are already gone home yesterday, before I received your majesty's said letters, and the rest go this day, or to-morrow.

The governour told me, "That undoubtedly the cardinal and all his complices did altogether dissemble with him, depending only upon the aid of France, which," he saith, "is without all fail coming hither by the west seas, with one Stewart,* whom the cardinal and earl of Lennox sent purposely for the same; whereof," he saith, "he hath credible advertisement, by letters arrived here of new yesterday, addressed to Andrew Barton."† And further, he saith, "That where the cardinal made suit and means to him for his favour, and desired that he might safely come and speak with him in some indifferent place, which the governour hath offered him, yet he putteth off the same, and triflETH with him; pretending that he dare not come for fear of his life, or bodily hurt; whereby," the governour saith, "that he perceiveth well all his fair words and pretences, with likewise all his partakers, are no-

* Captain James Stewart of Cardonnock.

† The Bartons were a family celebrated for their skill in naval affairs even in the reign of James III.—See *Pitcottie*, p. 95. folio edit. The person here mentioned, was perhaps the son of the famous sir Andrew Barton, whose defeat and death by the earl of Surrey led to the breach between James IV. and Henry VIII., and to the fatal battle of Flodden.

thing else but craft and dissimulation; for the which he will provide accordingly." Whereupon I entred with him in the declaration of the contents of your majesty's said letters, in such sort as is prescribed unto me by the same; which he heard at good length, and after made me this answer: First, "He thanked your majesty most humbly for your great clemency and goodness towards him." And touching the aid of English-men, he said, "That he, and other your majesty's friends here had well debated that matter in council, and with good advertisement they had found, that if it come so to pass that they must seek for aid of English-men, it would not then be the number of 5000 that would help them; for the bringing in of 5000 English-men should cause 20,000 Scots-men forsake them, and run to their enemies; assuring me, that whensoever they brought in English-men, all their own friends and tenants, or at least the greatest number of them, will utterly leave them. And therefore, in case things do grow to such extremity, as they shall be enforced to have aid of your majesty's subjects, it must be such an army, as with them, and such of their friends as will abide with them, may be able to work their feat without any great number of Scots-men." Nevertheless he prayed me, to write unto your majesty, and to beseech the same, "That not only the men may remain still in a readiness for him, in case he, with other your friends here, shall see that they may be brought in to some good purpose, but also that it may please your majesty to advance unto him the sum of L. 5000, for the which (if your majesty will so require him) he will give to your highness his bond and obligation for the repayment of the same; assuring me that the late ruffe and business cost him 20,000 merks Scots; which sum of 5000 l. sterling, if it may please your majesty, he desireth to have within these ten days, with the which he trusteth to wage so good a number of men of this nation, that, with the help of your majesty and his friends here, and their forces, he shall be able to daunt the cardinal and his complices, in such sort, as they shall be glad and fain to consent to the ratification of the treaties, the laying in of the hostages and pledges, and performing of all other

things according to the said treaties. And in case they shall convoy away the queen's person, or so impeach him that he shall not be able to keep promise with your majesty according to the treaties, he will then make his refuge to your majesty, and be ordered and advised by the same, as well in the delivery of the strong-holds, as in the accomplishment of all such other things as your majesty will require him to do, whatsoever it be, to the uttermost of his power." And here he prayed me to report unto him the point that touched your majesty's offer, to make him king of all Scotland beyond the Firth; which I did in such sort, as is contained in your majesty's said letters. Whereunto he answered, "That your majesty had devised such honour for him and his posterity, as for ever he is obliged to your highness for the same. Marry," he said, "all his lands and living lay on this side the Firth, which he would not gladly change for any living beyond the Firth." Wherein I told him, he might be sure that your majesty would so deal with him, as he should have good cause to say, that he had met with a great friend. And then he swore the wounds of Christ, "That if those matters grew to such extremity, he would do whatsoever your majesty would have him to do; but he trusted, that if it would please your majesty to advance unto him this 5000*l*. he should be able to daunt the cardinal and his complices, in such sort, as they should be glad to leave the cast of France, and join with him in the cast of England." And for the aid of English-men, he desired, "that the said number of 5000 may be in readiness," as is aforesaid. "But surely," he thinketh, "he shall not need them; for if he be driven to have the aid of English-men," he saith, "your majesty must furnish him such an army, as wherewith he, and others your majesty's and his assured friends here, may be able to do you service, though their own countrymen forsake them," as is aforesaid. "In which case he doubteth not but your majesty shall right soon have this whole realm at your will and pleasure." This he prayed me to write unto your majesty with all diligence, to the intent he might the sooner receive your majesty's an-

swer in the premisses: which I promised him, and so departed accordingly.

After this, I spake immediately with the earls of Angus and Cassils, the lord Maxwell and sir George Douglas, and communed with them of all the premisses, finding them in all things agreeable with the mind and opinion of the governour; assuring me, that having well debated the bringing in of English-men, they find, that the same shall do more hurt than good, and shall put both themselves and the English-men (unless it were a main army) in danger of destruction. So that, they say, a present furniture of money shall be most beneficial for the governour at this time. And if it shall come to that point, that they shall have need of English-mens aid, in that case, they say, it shall be requisite for your majesty to send such a power, as by the same, with the help of the governour and others, which be here at your majesty's commandment, they may go through with the conquest of this realm, wherein they will serve your majesty as they have promised; trusting, though in that case a great many of their friends here will peradventure forsake them, that yet some will abide with them, to such a good number, as wherewith they doubt not they shall be able to do your majesty good service. And the said earls of Angus and Cassils, and the lord Maxwell, told me, that they were even now ready to go home to see what force they were able to make, wherewith they would repair to this town and to Linlithgow, on this side the 20th of this month; for the which purpose they be already departed.

Whilst I was now at Stirling, by the means of a gentleman of a good house in this country, being also of honest credit and reputation, whom I do use for my purpose here in many things for the better service of your majesty, I came by a secret bond and confederacy made by the cardinal and his complices, at their late being together at Linlithgow; the copy whereof I have sent to your majesty herewith: And till I shewed the governour of the same bond this day, he had no manner of knowledge thereof, which hath now the more exasperate

and stirred him against the cardinal, whose only act and device it is. The lord Fleming, who, I assure your grace, is as ill, or rather worse, than the earl Bothwel, hath subscribed the same amongst others, as your highness shall perceive by the said copy; and also the laird of Craigy, for whom your majesty wrote to the governour, hath likewise subscribed it, and is plain of that party. And as for the lord Fleming, he hath said plainly, that he will never go again into England, whatsoever become of his son that lieth pledge for him; his ransom he will pay to redeem home his pledge, as it was taxed by the late ambassadors, but he will never enter into England. Of this I am credibly informed by such as heard him speak it. And at my now being at Stirling, I saw him there with the queen, but he was not the man that would bid me once welcome, and yet I thought to have spoken with him, had he not suddenly departed; which, I think, he did of purpose. Finally, touching the French ships here in the Firth, they now be all afloat, sailing about here in the Firth, ready to depart, abiding only for the wind, as I am informed; and yet they have promised the governour to tarry those three days, for such letters and other things as he maketh them believe he will dispatch with them into France. But it is thought, that as soon as the wind serveth they will away; and, as far as I can learn, they intend to hover a while about this coast northwards, to meet with the Iseland fleet, if they can. And if they go homewards, they will surely keep aloof in the seas, as far as they can from the coast of England. I will do the best I can to know what course they keep, and where they become, and will advertise thereof to my lord of Suffolk, to the intent (if it be possible) he may give knowledge thereof to your majesty's navy from time to time as the case shall require. And thus, &c.

To my Lords of SUFFOLK, PARR, and DURHAM, 13th August, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that I received your letters of the 4th of August: for answer whereunto, first, touching the victualling of such English aid as the governour and others his majesty's friends here lately desired; if I had perceived, that they had continued still in that determination to have the said aid, I would or this time have advertised your lordships what order they would have taken for the victualling of the same; but surely I see not that they will bring in any English-men at this time. Wherein, if I should say mine opinion, they have wisely resolved; for if they should, both all their own friends would forsake them, and also our English-men should be in no little danger, unless they were such a company as might be able to be a party to all Scotland. And there is already a bruit and saying here, that the governour will bring in English-men into the realm; for the which he is so universally hated, that he scant dare trust his own servants; assuring your lordships, that this nation is of such malicious nature towards English-men, that they cannot abide, nor suffer to hear, that English-men should have any manner of superiority or dominion over them. And therefore, when the king's majesty shall send hither any force, I would wish the same to be such a power as might be able to work their feat, without the aid or assistance of any Scottish-man, in whom I would put no great trust in that behalf. Nevertheless, forasmuch as the governour desireth, that the aid, which the king's majesty hath appointed, may remain still in readiness for him in all events; I have, therefore, desired him to tell me, how he will furnish them with victual, in case he shall see cause to bring in the same. In which case, his desire is, that they shall bring with them as much victual for themselves as they may conveniently. And also he will, as he saith, send both to Newcastle and to Berwick for grain; and will cause the same to be baked and browen here, and

so to be uttered to the English-men for their money, according to your device. This order, he saith, he will observe in case aforesaid.

Secondly, Touching the navy that (as your lordships wrote) was seen afore Holy Island on Friday last. If there were seen to the number of fifty sail, as your letters proposit, I wonder what they were. But true it is, that the French ships, which have been here so long in the Firth, being nine sail, were amongst them, which took the two Crayers English-men, mentioned in your said letters, and have sent them into the haven here of Leith; and, as I understand, the said French-men do ly still afore the coast of Bamburgh and Holy Island, and certain Scots merchants with them, which went all together out of the Firth here on Thursday last in the night. And if the king's majesty's navy, which (as you know) were appointed to come hither for to take the said French ships here in the Firth do come forwards, it is very like that they shall meet together. But I can hardly believe that there were seen to the number of fifty sail; whereof it may please your good lordships to make better enquiry; and if it was so, then, if it be possible to know what they were, to the intent I may advertise the governour here, who is much desirous to have true knowledge of the same.

Finally, Whether those men here shall agree or no there is no certainty, but either party so much mistrusteth other, that they prepare their forces on both sides. The governour, methinketh, is out of heart and courage; the only cause whereof, I assure you, is lack of money; for, undoubtedly, he hath little or none at all; and the other party, as I am also informed, hath no more than they occupy. And now the cardinal hath made special instance to speak with sir George Douglas, who, having the lord Seton laid here in pledge for him to the governour, doth, to-morrow, repair over the water to speak with the said cardinal. At his retour I shall know how they agree, and shall not fail to advertise the same accordingly.

To my Lords of SUFFOLK, PARR, and DURHAM, 14th August, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that this bearer, Mr Poyntz's servant, arrived here yesternight with me, and brought me such letters as you shall receive herein inclosed; by the which ye may perceive in what case he standeth for money and victuals. He hath already received two hundred angels upon my credit, of the earl of Cassils, which, as I perceive by this bearer, is already spent; and therefore I have now made shift for one hundred pounds more for him, which I will find some means to convoy safely unto him with all diligence. But, considering how chargeable this matter will grow, if the said Mr Poyntz do remain long with the king's ships in these west seas, which, after twenty pounds a day, as he maketh his rate, will amount to five hundred and sixty pounds a month. It is not only requisite to know the king's majesty's pleasure in that part, for the which purpose this said bearer repaireth now to the court to my lord admiral; but also, that it may please your lordships, to take such order as he may be furnished with money for the time accordingly; for without your help I shall not be able to supply the same. Wherefore it may please your lordships to send me, with convenient diligence, so much as will repay the money which I have already borrowed for to help him withall, being two hundred angels and one hundred pounds, as is aforesaid, which amounteth in the whole to the sum of one hundred and seventy-five pounds; and also such a convenient sum of money besides, as your lordships, by your discretion, shall think meet to serve him, untill such time as the king's majesty's further pleasure may be known in that behalf. Thus, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

Whereas I do perceive by your lordships last letters, which I received yesternight, with also the king's majesty's letters to me, addressed with

the same, that six of the king's ships passed by you on Sunday morning at eight of the clock, to arrive here in the Firth, whom ye would have me to advertise of the number of the French ships being on the sea; ye shall understand, that none of the said six ships is arrived here as yet, nor I know not what they should do here; for the Frenchmen that have lain here so long are gone, and departed hence to the seas on Thursday last, as I wrote to you in my last letters, and, since their departure, have taken the two English Crayers which you wrote of, and have sent them hither, as I also did advertise you by my said last letters. But where the said Frenchmen are now become, I can learn no certainty. Some say, they be about the coast afore Bamburg and Holy Island, and some say they are plied homeward aloof in the seas from the coast of England; and others say they are gone northwards to abide the Island fleet; but certainty I can get none what course they keep, &c.

To my Lords of SUFFOLK, PARR, and DURHAM, 17th August, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that I have received here of late your several letters, and have forbore to write again, because I would have been glad to have some certain matter to write of if it would be; but that, I trow, will never be had amongst those men here, their proceedings are so uncertain. And now, what appearance there is how things shall succeed, you shall perceive by such letters as I write presently herewith to the king's majesty; but what will follow, God knoweth; for I think never man had to do with such people. And where, in another of your before-written letters, ye write, ye fear the bottom of their purpose and agreement will not appear till they shall have the king's money in their purses; I have also thought before of that matter, and, by mine advice, if the king's majesty shall resolve upon my last letters to send hither any money, according to the governour's desire, there shall be some stay made of his highness's li-

berality in that behalf, till we see cause how it may be employed to good purpose; wherein it may please your lordships to give me your advice as the case shall require. Furthermore, amongst your said letters, I have received the special advertisements which it liked you to send me, whereof I shall make the best enquiry I can. Part thereof hath some appearance of truth, and part I know to be untrue. But, as I have sundry times written, it is hard to judge the end of those perplexed affairs till time reveal the same. For my part, I shall be as vigilant as I can. And though plainness and truth be oft times abused with subtilty and falshood, yet in the end alway truth triumpheth, when falshood shall take reproach, and bear the burden of the same.

Finally, where it appeareth by your said letters, that ye understand the young queen should be very sick; neither the governour nor any man here knoweth thereof. Indeed she was sick of the small-pox, but she is perfectly recovered of the same more than ten days passed. And also perceiving by your said letters, that ye likewise understand that the said young queen should be wholly under the government of the cardinal and his complices, and under their strength; and that the lords Livingston* and Lindsay,† favouring the governour, seeing they bear no stroke, would have come away, and the old queen stopped their baggage that they could not depart; as your said letters do make mention. To say mine opinion, I think surely that she is in such custody as the cardinal and his complices may dispoñe of her at his pleasure. For the dowager, the earl of Montrose, and the lord Erskine, be of that party; and the castle is the dowager's, whereof also the lord Erskine is constable and keeper, and hath the keys of all the posterns and back gates; so that, if they list to convoy her, it cannot ly in the power of the lords Livingston and Lindsay to impeach it; wherefore, they might indeed as well be away as there: But yet they neither desired to go hence, nor did the dowager stop their baggage,

* Alexander, fifth lord Livingston. He had an office about the person of the infant queen. He died 1550.

† John, sixth lord Lindesay of the Byres. He died 1563.

as your said letters proport. Nevertheless, the earls of Glencairn and Cassils, and also the lords Maxwell and Somervail, to whom I have heretofore declared mine opinion in that part, have assured me upon their honours, that the earl of Montrose and lord Erskine will safely keep and preserve her for the time that the child shall be in their hands, for the which they be bound on their lives and heritages. Whatsoever trouble be within the realm, they say, her said keepers be men of such honour, as will undoubtedly discharge their loyalty in that behalf, and preserve her to be married in England, as was decreed by the parliament. This they say, but how it will prove, God knoweth, who, &c.

To the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, 17th August, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that I have received your several letters of the 10th and 12th of this month, with your letters to sir Nachas Poyntz, which I have sent unto him; and also, I have received the copy of captain Polyne's letter, addressed to the governour of Thuryne; which matter I have, and shall, as opportunity may serve me, set forth according to the contents of your lordships said letters. And such as I have already declared the same unto, as the governour himself, and some others, seem greatly to detest the French king and the bishop of Rome, no less than their doings in that part do justly require. Furthermore, touching the contents of your lordships said letters, I have partly answered the same, by such letters as I write herewith to the king's majesty, and shall observe the execution of the rest as the case shall require. And whereas, it appeareth by your said letters of the 12th of this present, amongst other things, that the king's pleasure is, I should advertise how his majesty's books of religion be liked here, and whether the governour desireth to have any moe of them. Surely, to signify the plain truth, I see not that the same is much liked of any party here, nor yet the governour desireth

to have any moe of them ; for such as pretend to favour God's word, do like chiefly that part which confuteth the primacy of the bishop of Rome ; and such as they call here Pharisees and Papists, do so much mislike that part, as they give almost no credit to the rest : But they be well pleased with the restraint of the scripture made in England, from certain degrees of the people, and yet would have liked it much better, if it had been generally restrained from all sorts ; though such as do pretend, as is aforesaid, to be professors of God's word, be much offended with the same. And if I had found the said book of religion well liked here, I would or this time have advertised the same, and also sent for moe books. Such as your lordships sent hither, I disposed as I was commanded accordingly. Thus, &c.

To my Lords of SUFFOLK, PARR, and DURHAM, 19th August, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that I have received your letters of the 17th of August, with also the bill of your news, which are no news here. And if the cardinal and his complices do mind or intend any such things, as is comprised in the said bill, they keep no counsel of the same, for a man might have learned all these news in the Fish-market here, with many moe tending to like purpose, at the least fourteen days ago. And at my last being with the queen at Stirling, she found herself somewhat grieved with part of those bruits, both touching the marriage that (as commonly was spoken here abroad) should be betwixt her daughter and the earl of Argyle's son ; and also, the contention and strife which should be betwixt the earls of Lennox and Bothwel for her love.* She told me, " she was little

* It was a common belief at the time, that these two noblemen, who were rivals in splendour and courtly accomplishments, hoped for the marriage of Mary of Lorraine. The continuation of Pitscottie and Buchanan, both mention this report ; and that the earl of Lennox being trained in the wars and tournaments of France, surpassed the other in dexterity as well as strength. " He was," says the former historian, " of a strong body, well pro-

beholden to the people of this nation, that raised such tales to the slander of her and her daughter." But I wrote nothing of these things, because the same was here in common bruit. And if I should write all such tales, as be common here in many mouths, and sowen in the market place, I could every day fill your ears with a number of them. Nevertheless, I assure your lordships, I am of opinion, that the cardinal and his fellows would be right glad to accomplish all those things contained in the said bill, and it may be that they do intend the same. But the governour is sufficiently warned thereof by the common bruit of the people; and also, I shall not fail, on your lordships behalf, to advise him to beweight the same, in such sort as ye require me by your said letters. And touching the force and power, which is contained in the said bill, the earl of Argyle should now raise and assemble; it is true, that every man on both parties hath been preparing all the force they can make, which, nevertheless, is now staid, upon the late communication and agreement betwixt the cardinal and sir George Douglas; and yet in such sort, as every man may have his power ready within twenty-four hours warning, as I wrote in my last letters. But the earl of Argyle, as I understand, shall be able to do little hurt at this time to the governour, though things do proceed here to extremity. For whereas certain Irishmen* have been long prisoners in the castle of Edinburgh and Dunbar, for stirring and breaking of the Irish countries; the governour hath now let them loose, and sent them home, only of policy to hold the said earl of Argyle occupied. So that, as the governour and others here tell me, the earl of Argyle shall have his hands so full at home, that he shall have no leisure to look hitherwards. As indeed the said Irish-men have already begun with

portioned, of a sweet and manly visage, straight in stature, and pleasant in behaviour. Bothwell was fair and whitely, somewhat hanging shouldered, and going forward, but of a gentle and humane countenance. These two being fed with fair words for a time, at length the earl Bothwell having spent very much, was forced to retire." *Pitcottie*, folio edition, p. 182.

* *i. e.* Highlanders, so called from speaking the Irish, or Gaelic.

him; and even now, upon their new coming home, assembled together about eighteen hundred men, and have slain a great many of his servants, and taken a good booty of his and his friends goods and cattle; and yet the said governour took bonds of the said Irish-men when he put them to liberty, that they shall not make any stir or breach in their country, but at such time as he shall appoint them. But how they will observe those bonds, now since they be at liberty, it is hard to say; for they be noted such perillous persons, as it is thought it shall not ly in the earl of Argyle's power to daunt them, nor yet in the governour's, to set that country in a stay and quietness a great while. But once the earl of Argyle shall by this means be so matched at home, as he shall not dare nor be able to go from home, he shall have so much ado to keep his own; and this is done of policy, as is aforesaid.*

I have herewith sent your lordships the names of the Scottish prisoners, with the value of their substance in lands and goods, as near as I can get knowledge, to the intent ye may the better devise upon the taxation of the ransom, against such time as the commissioners for this party of Scotland shall come to you for the composition of the saids ransoms and deliverance of the hostages, which, the governour telleth me, "he will dispatch with as much speed as he can possibly. And, for the more ease and commodity of you, my lord of Suffolk," he saith, "he will send his said commissioners unto you to Newcastle for the said purpose;" whereof I think the earl of Angus, because he is the greatest man here, shall be principal commissioner. As I shall know further thereof, and of all other circumstances, I shall not fail

* The tumultuary chieftains thus let loose to embroil the Highlands, and deter Argyle from joining the cardinal and queen-mother, were the leaders of the clans of Macleod, Macdonald, Maclean, Mackenzie, and many others, who, having been seized as hostages by James the Fifth, in the voyage which he made round Scotland in 1540, had been ever since detained in the Lowland fortresses. Huntly and Argyle were commissioned by the governor to restrain their excesses, which they did not achieve without much labour and bloodshed.

to advertise your lordships in good time, with the grace of God, who ever preserve your lordships in long life and health, with increase of honour, &c.

To my Lords of SUFFOLK, PARR, and DURHAM, 24th August, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that this morning I received your letters, touching the entry of the prisoners, for making of their bonds, and promise for the payment of their ransoms, according to the proport of the indenture made betwixt the king's majesty's commissioners and the ambassadors of Scotland in that behalf. In which matter, I had, before the receipt of your said letters, communed with the governour, who told me, that all the prisoners should be warned to their entry for that purpose. But it is thought that divers of them will not enter, as the lord Fleming, the lord Oliphant,* the lord Erskine's son, the laird of Waughton's son, and also Oliver Sinclair, who is so far hence, that he cannot be warned in time; "and therefore," the governour saith, "that he will make no bond nor promise for those that will not enter, and so little regard their own faith and honour; but rather, it is thought best, to let them remain still captive, and the rest of the noblemen that be bound for them, (as they be all bound one for another,) the governour saith, shall have his authority to ride upon them, to baffle them, and to put them to such dishonour and reproof, as in that case appertaineth. And, on the other side, it is thought, that the earls of Cassils and Glencairn, the lords Maxwell, Gray, and Somervail, though they be right willing to enter, cannot well be spared from the governour, seeing there is yet no perfect agreement betwixt him and his adverse party; for if they were from him, his enemies might have too great advantage. And specially, the earl of Glencairn saith, "he cannot be four days from

* Laurence, third lord Oliphant. His ransom was fixed at 800 merks.

home, unless he should be in danger to lose all that he hath, because the earl of Argyle and he be at utterance." Wherefore, I cannot perceive, that any of them likewise can enter; and, it is thought here, that it shall be sufficient to send commissioners to deliver the hostages, and to compone for the ransoms of such as the governour will be bound for; delivering to you their bonds and obligations for payment of the same; containing their own promise in writing to yield themselves prisoners, if they break their days of payment, with the governour's writing also according to the said indenture. And the rest of the prisoners, which the governour will not be bound for, to remain still captive, and their pledges also to be kept in England, till they shall enter and be made free by the king's majesty. Nevertheless, I make the means I can to have all the prisoners enter, and have and will declare as much in that part as your lordships have written. But what they will do, I cannot tell: for though they have sit here in council those two days upon that matter, and also to devise for to get pledges to be laid for the performance of the treaty of marriage, they be not yet resolved upon the same, and hardly, I think, they shall get their pledges, unless the prisoners, or the more part of them, may be accepted at this time. On Sunday next they have appointed to ratify the treaties, whereat neither the cardinal, nor any of his complices, will be present, as far as I can see. I moved the governour to demand their hand-writing, according to your lordships advice. But he said, "they had all agreed openly to the treaties already, whereof there were witnesses enough; and their hand-writing," he said, "they cared not; for he had that to show in that they swore also when he was admitted governour, and yet they lett not to do directly both against their promise and hand-writing. And also," he said, "that he had the earl of Argyle's hand-writing to show, that he promised to lay a pledge into England for the performance of the marriage, which, nevertheless, he would not do. So that there is no truth," he saith, "to their hand-writing, and therefore thinketh it but folly to demand the same." Nevertheless, I told him it could do no hurt to prove them, whereby he should decipher them the

better, so that what he will do I cannot tell ; and he is now in a man-jouring to ride over the water to Fife and Angus, and so to make an errand to his own house at St Andrews, to see if the cardinal will come to him according to his promise, wherein he is not yet fully resolved ; but as the same, and all other things here, shall succeed, I shall advertise accordingly.

POSTSCRIPT.

Here be certain Scottish ships arrived, which came directly out of Denmark ; and they say, that the king of Denmark, by the solicitation of the French king, is setting forth a strong navy to the sea, of huge and great ships, of five and six tops, to the number of eighteen or twenty sail, to do all the annoyance they can, both to the emperour in Flanders, and also to the king's majesty and his subjects ; which navy, they say, was ready to set forth afore they came out of Denmark ; and that the said Scottish ships have been a great while detained there, and not suffered to depart, because they should make no bruit abroad of the setting forth of the said navy," &c.

To the King's Majesty, 25th August, 1543.

Please it your royal majesty to understand, that this day the treaties were ratified and confirmed here in Edinburgh, and the governour, in my presence, hath renounced and sworn according to the proposit of the same, which was solemnly done at the high mass, solemnly sung with shalms and sackbuts in the Abbey-church of the Holyroodhouse. And although the cardinal and his complices were absent, yet the thing was done by their consent, and in the name and by the authority of the queen and three estates of the realm, in presence of the greatest part of the nobility of the same, and notaries also present, which have made their instruments thereupon, as shall appear to your majesty by the said treaties ; wherewith the governour sendeth pre-

sently in post a gentleman to your majesty, named the laird of Fyvie, who is a right honest gentleman, and well affected to your highness : And he is sent to be present at the ratification and oath to be made by your majesty of and upon the said treaties accordingly. And also he hath commission, to entreat your majesty to be content to retain and keep still the lord Fleming's heir, and the lord Oliphant's heir, and also the lord Erskine's son's brother, which do now ly pledges in England, to remain with your majesty for three of the pledges for performance of the treaty of marriage now for the first time : For the governour would be loath to lay in pledge any other of the prisoners that be his friends, whereby his power should be the more weakened : " And needs," he saith, " that the more part of the prisoners must be laid at this time, for he shall not be able to get any others sufficient for that purpose. And if it may please your majesty to accept the three before specified, he will enter bonds for the payment of their ransoms, to make them free of their captivity." In which case, he writeth himself presently to your majesty ; and as soon as it shall be possible for him, he will send his commissioner to my lord of Suffolk, both to deliver unto him the hostages, and to compone for the prisoners ransoms ; for the which purpose also, the prisoners are warned to enter to deliver their bonds, and to make their promises to perform the same, with also the governour's bond and promise in write, according to the indenture in that behalf, made betwixt your commissioners and the Scottish ambassadors at their late being in England ; which, he trusteth, shall be performed within fourteen or fifteen days at the farthest, or sooner, if by any possibility he can accomplish the same ; saying, " he will presume upon your majesty's goodness in that part ; upon trust, that your highness will be content to grant him that respite, notwithstanding the time limited in the treaties." Touching the five thousand pounds, which he desired lately to have in loan of your majesty, perceiving that there is some towardness of agreement betwixt him and the cardinal and his complices, he hath said nothing to me thereof till this day, and likewise passed it over with silence, till

he began with me this day. After the treaties were ratified, and we had dined, (as he caused me to dine with him,) he required of me, whether I had received any answer from your majesty touching his said request? I told him, I had received such an answer, as might appear thereby proceeded from a grave and wise prince, that had experience of the world, with such respect to the common affairs of both the realms, as he could not but well accept the same; which was, that your majesty, so long as he remained constant in his word and promise, would declare yourself so great a friend unto him, as the amity now requireth, and would not suffer him to be repressed with his enemies. And for the money which he desired, I prayed him to consider on your majesty's behalf, that, first, he required an aid of men, which your highness had put in readiness to your grace's no little charge. And now, seeing the cardinal and his complices had already consented to the treaties, (though it is to be thought that he, and some of his adherents, will never be drawn from their affections to France, unless they were subdued and brought into captivity, or driven out of the realm,) your highness saw not to what good purpose the said five thousand pounds might be employed, either for his benefit or your majesty's: and therefore would be loath to defray such a sum, unless you might be assured what commodity should ensue thereby to your grace's affairs. And as for the cardinal and his complices, I told him, your majesty knew they were not able to make any party to him; but that, if he would go roundly to work, he and his friends might easily repress them. Whereunto he answered, "that he doubted not your majesty would be a good lord to him, if he should have mister; and till he had mister, he would not incumber your majesty with any suit for aid of men or money; but that oath that he hath taken this day, in the name of the whole realm, if all the rest of the realm should be against it, he alone would shed his blood, and spend his life in the observation thereof to your majesty. In which case, if he shall be put at, or pursued by the cardinal and his complices, (which, no doubt," he saith, "with the aid of money, which the whole church will advance unto

him, besides the aid they look for out of France, shall be able to be a great party unto him,) he must needs make his refuge to your majesty, without whose help and aid in that case, he shall not be able to withstand their malice: but his trust is, that all shall be well. And the cardinal, he thinketh, will declare and prove himself the most honest man of all the rest to your majesty and him also. And this afternoon," he said, "he would go over the water," as indeed he is gone to St Johnstoun and Dundee, "to see and visit the country, where he hath not been since he was governour, and so to make an errand to his own house at St Andrews, where the cardinal," he saith, "will come and speak with him; so that he hopeth to compone all matters and controversies here, in such sort as good peace, quietness, and agreement, shall ensue amongst them." I wished it might be so; but I told him, I hardly believed that the cardinal would declare himself so honest a man as he said. Nevertheless, he assured me, that the cardinal principally desired your majesty's favour; which, I said, your princely clemency and benign nature was such as he might easily obtain, if he would use and behave himself as became him, towards the advancement of such things as do tend to the benefit and common weal of his own country. And thus, with general terms, we passed over that matter. And touching the two points, for delivery of the strong-holds in gage for the five thousand pounds, or delivery of the young queen into your majesty's hands, I moved not to the governour thereof in this conference, the rather because he seemed not now to press or desire the money: And besides that, I know the one part thereof he cannot perform, though he would, which is the delivery of the queen; for she is in such custody as he cannot come by her: And the strong-holds, I am sure, he will not deliver, unless his enemies grow so strong upon him as he shall not be able to resist them. In which case, he must needs be enforced to do whatsoever your majesty will require; but if he shall eftsoons make any further request for money, I shall essay him in these two points, according to the proposit of your most gracious letters addressed to me in that behalf.

Finally, I told him also of the stay of the Scottish ships going into France with victuals ; and also declared unto him the effect of your majesty's pleasure in that part, both touching that the treaties will not bear it, and also touching the governour's safe conduct to be given to his friends that pass out of this realm, in such sort as is contained in your highness's said letters ; which, the governour saith, he will observe accordingly. But in case the cardinal and he, with the rest, do fall to agreement, whereof there is good likelihood, then his desire is, that all ships of this realm may pass without stay, though they have not his safe conduct ; for if the ships should be staid by your majesty, now that the peace is concluded and ratified, he saith it should be a mean to cause the whole realm to exclaim upon him, which he would gladly avoid, for they love him ill enough already for your majesty's sake, and then would love him much worse, and also judge evil of the peace, and take it to be but a feigned matter betwixt your majesty and him, to cause them put their ships and goods in adventure ; the stay only whereof should be a great hinderance to the merchants. And as to the victuals which they carry hence into France, he saith it can be no great matter, for there is no abundance here of victuals to be spared. Peradventure, he saith, they may carry fish thither, and yet no great store, which they have used commonly to carry into France for other merchandizes, and hard it will be for him to cause them leave that trade with the same. Wherefore, considering it can be no great matter, he beseecheth your majesty to bear with it, and he will do the best he can to cause them use their traffick into England, or at least to convoy no kind of victual into France.*

The earl of Argyle is much incumbered with certain Irish, which

* This passage alludes to certain Scottish vessels bound for France, and detained in the English ports. They were probably laden with salmon, then a great article of exportation from Scotland.

have been long in ward, and lately put to liberty by the governour, and sent home only of policy to keep the said earl occupied at home, to the intent he should have the less opportunity to execute his malice against the governour; wherefore, the said earl knowing the same to have proceeded of the counsel and advice of the earl of Glencairn, hath pretended to burn and destroy his country, some part whereof is nigh adjacent to the Highland; and also, the said Argyle hath likewise threatned the earl of Cassils and the sheriff of Ayr, whose countries also be not far from him; so that there is like to grow some business amongst them; and already he hath begun with the earl of Glencairn, because he is next him. What shall follow, and as all other things shall succeed here worthy advertisement, I shall not fail to signify the same unto your highness from time to time, as the case shall require. And thus, &c.

To my Lords of SUFFOLK, PARR, and DURHAM, 26th August, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that I have received from you the king's majesty's letters, dated at the More, the 24th of this present, and have with myself considered the contents of the same. But forasmuch as the governour is now on the other side of the water with the cardinal, I can take no good occasion or opportunity to repair unto him till he shall return hither, which I think will be within those three or four days; and if the cardinal and he do agree, as it is thought they shall, then shall it be to none effect, in my poor opinion, to go about to perswade the governour to proceed against him and his complices, in such sort as is contained in the king's majesty's said letters. But if they agree not, I shall not only have a goodly occasion thereunto, but also I think the governour will right easily be perswaded unto the same, if lack of money stay him not. For the other party, as I understand, is aided by the church,

which doth contribute, and have gathered great sums of money amongst them to maintain their evil quarrel against the governour and his party, if they fall not to agreement. As for the peace and marriage, concluded with the king's majesty, they make not that their quarrel; but though they do allow the same, and have consented in word, that the governour should proceed to the ratification of the same, as he hath now done, and to lay hostages accordingly; yet it is supposed, that they do mind only the rupture of the same; as undoubtedly they work as much as they may secretly, that the governour should get no hostages to be laid for the accomplishment of the conditions of the treaty of marriage; so that, beside such as be prisoners, he cannot indeed, as far as I can perceive, get past two or three at the most. And the cause why he delayeth the sending of his commissioners, with the hostages to your lordships, is, for that he would get as many other hostages than the prisoners as he could; and much he trusteth upon a respite of fifteen days, after the time limited in the treaty, to be granted by the king's majesty, whereby he may the better accomplish the same. Nevertheless, the earl of Cassils, who is tarried here behind the governour, told me yesterday, "that when he went, he resolved with him, that in case he had no word shortly from the king's majesty of the said respite, rather than he would adventure the breach of the treaties, he would take order, that such hostages as he could get, should be entred within England afore Friday next coming, to be delivered unto your lordships." Whether he will do so or not, I cannot tell. But, at his departure, he prayed me to send him word as soon as the king's highness's answer should arrive touching the said respite, which being now of such sort as ye know, shall by me be passed over in silence. The laird of Fyvie will make all the haste he can to the king's majesty, to the intent the said treaties may be ratified by his highness within the time limited by the same: Which laird of Fyvie is a man of eighteen score merks land Scottish, almost five hundred merks Scottish, a great living in this country; and be-

sides that, I assure you, he is a very good gentleman, and singularly well affected unto the king's majesty.

I have also received your letters of the 24th of this present, whereby I perceive that ye have already advertised the king's majesty of the ships-take, so that I need not enquire thereof. And as for the French ships, the same that was chased into Dundee, I understand was but a small vessel, where she yet remaineth; and another called the Falcon, I hear say, was chased into Montrose, a haven on this side Aberdeen; which Falcon, they say, is a fair ship, and is also still at Montrose, as far as I can learn: But I cannot understand that any of the king's ships followed them into the said haven; but belike lost them in the chase, and they slipped into the havens. The Sacker and the rest, I cannot hear where they be become, but am glad that your lordships can make so good account of six of them, whereof be five men of war, and one merchant, as I perceived by your said letters. There were not past three or four more of that consort at the most. Touching the ships of Denmark, I can write no more than I did by mine other letters; but such Scottish ships and others, as now be come home from thence, do affirm, that it is true that the king of Denmark hath indeed set forth such a navy as I wrote of to your lordships. Whereof, as I shall hear further, I shall not fail to advertise; and as soon as the governour shall return hither from beyond the water, I will be in hand with him for the safe conduct that you, my lord of Suffolk, do write of for grain, and shall signify unto you his answer accordingly, &c.

To the King's Majesty, 28th August, 1543.

Please it your royal majesty to understand, that as I wrote in my last letters to your highness, that the governour made an errand over the water of Forth to St Andrews, to speak with the cardinal; so now he hath been there, supposing that the said cardinal would, according to his fair words and promise, have humbled himself so much

as to have met him on the way, and done his duty accordingly; but it appeareth now more plainly than ever it did, that all his fair be-hechts are but practices; for he neither would meet the governour, nor yet see nor speak with him when he came to St Andrews, but kept his castle, and desired that sir George Douglas might come to him into the castle, who having sir John Campbel of Calder, the earl of Argyle's brother, laid to the governour as a pledge, went into the castle to the cardinal, and perswaded him to come into the town, and to wait upon the governour, according to his promise; which he excused, saying, he durst not for fear of his life. In which case, pledges were offered to be laid into the castle, such as himself would desire. But, finally he would not, for no perswasion nor condition that could be offered unto him; insomuch as the governour caused his treason and untruth to be openly proclaimed there in the town of St Andrews, and therewith pardoned all such of the town and others, that had before in any wise aided and assisted him, so as from henceforth they do leave him, and adhering to the governour, having the regiment and authority of the realm, would, by all means, annoy the said cardinal and all his complices and partakers. Which proclamation, as I understand, was so well taken amongst the people, that the cardinal hath lost thereby a great many of the hearts of such as before were on his party; so that it is thought the same shall work good effect. After this proclamation made, the governour returned hither yesternight late, and is now devising to gather his force, and to make like proclamations in all parts of this realm, not only against the cardinal, but also against all the other great men his complices, whereby they shall be declared manifest rebels and traitours. And this morning I repaired to the said governour, who told me all the premisses, assuring your majesty, that I found him so much incensed against the cardinal and his complices, as I needed not to prick him forwards in that behalf; which nevertheless I did by all the means I could, and discoursed with him at length the contents of your majesty's last letters of the 24th of August, and also of such other letters of the same date as I received

from my lords of your majesty's council. For the one part whereof, in that your majesty would have him stirred against the cardinal and his complices, the same is sufficiently accomplished, if he will do as he saith. And presently all the noblemen here, as the earls of Angus, Cassils, Glencairn, and Marishal, the lords Maxwell, Gray, and Somervail, and the sheriff of Ayr, and others of reputation on this party, do depart to levy and gather their forces. In which case their adverse party have a great advantage upon them, which be already gathered, and ready to set forward, intending to be at Stirling on Friday next, as it is said. For albeit upon the communication lately had betwixt sir George Douglas and the said cardinal, it was agreed, as I have before written in mine other letters, that all gatherings and assemblies on both parties should cease, yet to be so ordered as their forces might be always ready to assemble upon twenty-four hours warning. Whereupon the governour, meaning good faith indeed, ceased according to the said agreement; nevertheless, the cardinal and his complices, meaning only falshood and practice, did continue their musters and assemblies, whereby they have such advantage, that they be ready to come forwards; and the governour, so deceived by the cardinal's said practice with sir George Douglas, whereto he gave credit, that he cannot be so soon ready to meet them as were requisite. For the other part of your majesty's said letters, touching the accomplishment of the treaties, and delivery of the strong-holds, wherein I have essayed the governour, according to your majesty's pleasure; he saith plainly, "That he is not able to perform the treaties within the time limited in the same. And also, if he should deliver the strong-holds to your majesty, it shall behove him to fly the realm; for in that case his own friends will detest and forsake him; so that unless your majesty should send in a main army to make a conquest, with the which he and others, your highness's friends here, might join, and so serve your majesty without giving trust to any further aid of Scottish-men, he seeth not how he can deliver the holds without his utter destruction." I remembered him of his large promises, and advised him to write the same to

your majesty, to the intent your highness might thereby see his good will to the same, which hitherto had no otherwise appeared to your majesty, but by my relation and advertisement. He answered, "that no prince alive had, nor should have, his heart and service but your majesty only; alledging plainly, that of force he must adhere to your majesty; for he had lost all other friends in the world besides, and without your majesty's aid and supportance," he said, "he was in great danger of overthrow and destruction; wherefore, he had resolved to send away in post a gentleman to your majesty, called the laird of Brunstoun, to declare his state and condition, and to make your highness such offers, as whereby your majesty should well perceive his good heart and service towards the same; trusting that, of your princely goodness, you will not suffer him to be overtrodden and repressed with those, which, if they have the over-hand of him, will not only destroy all your friends here, but also work the whole realm (being already almost wholly inclined thereto) to the devotion and cast of France, which should," he saith, "be a great hinderance to your majesty's purposes." I advised him, that if he would so dispatch a gentleman to your majesty, that, remembering what he had before promised, in case of none performance of the treaty, he should make such expedition to your majesty in that behalf, as your grace might perceive evidently, that he went not about to seek aid and relief at your majesty's hands, without such a reciprocal commodity to be ministred again on his party, as might justly require your highness's benevolence towards him: For I told him, if he went otherwise to work, your majesty (being a wise prince, that hath experience of the world in such cases, and knoweth the practices of the same) would soon perceive it. He thanked me for mine advice, saying, "that by such offers as he would make to your majesty, he would so declare his affection, that your highness should well perceive the same to be unfeigned; whereunto, before the dispatch of the said laird of Brunstoun, he would send for me again, and make me participant; and having so many things ado," he said merrily, "he would talk no longer with me at this

time :” And so we departed. As soon as I shall know what dispatch the said Brunstoun (who is well affected to your majesty) shall have here of the governour, I shall not fail to advertise with diligence. I have also communed with the earls of Angus, Cassils, Glencairn, the lord Maxwell, and sir George Douglas, and find them all now very hot upon their enemies here ; but they be of opinion, that your majesty must support the governour with money to daunt the cardinal and his complices, or else send a main army to conquest the realm, where-with they will join, and serve your majesty according to their promise : for the sending of a small number of English-men, or the delivery of the holds and strengths into your majesty’s hands, shall be a mean to cause all their country-men to forsake them, and to put all your majesty’s friends and servants here in danger of destruction. And I was plain with them, as of myself, that I knew your majesty was a prince of such wisdom, as would not lay out your money, except your highness saw good appearance of some benefit and commodity to ensue thereby to your grace’s affairs ; wherewith I remembred unto them what benefit both the governour and they had received already at your majesty’s hands ; for the which they had yet done utterly nothing towards the recompence of the same ; but rather with good words and fair semblances of things to ensue to your highness’s great commodity, had hindred such enterprizes as your majesty had intended, and might, or this time, have brought to good purpose. Wherefore, I advised and prayed them to consider the same ; and now, that the governour was in mind to dispatch a gentleman to your majesty, that they would procure such expedition as might be thankfull and acceptable to your majesty ; which, they say, they will do ; and seem now to be sorry that ever they counselled or procured your majesty to peace, but rather wish that your majesty had sent hither your army, according to your first determination. They think the governour will now offer his son unto your majesty, to be sent and delivered to the same upon your gracious appointment : but sure they be not thereof, nor what offers shall be made ; wherein, they say, they will travel that

the same be such as may please your highness, and minister good occasion unto the same to extend your aid and benevolence to the governour. And, to say my poor opinion, I cannot perceive, but that, without your majesty's aid, they shall be put to great lack and danger: for money they have none, and the church beareth all they can make with the other party. Once every man is preparing to force and arms, so that if ever they fight it will be now; for the governour saith he will no more be deluded with fair heghts and promises. And those things do so occupy him, that I see none opportunity as yet to commune with him of your majesty's book of religion, in such sort as your majesty commanded me by your said most gracious letters. Neither see I that I can have any opportunity to speak with the cardinal, or that it is requisite I should so do as the case now standeth. Wherefore I shall omit the same, till I know further of your majesty's pleasure in that behalf. And thus, &c.

To the King's Majesty, 5th September, 1543.

Please it your royal majesty to understand, that I have received two letters from my lords of your majesty's council, one of the last of August, and the other the first of September: but there is now such a wonderfull change here, that the contents of the same cannot be put in execution; for the governour being left here alone, saving only the abbot of Paisley and David Panter, which are suspect to be of the cardinal's faction, is now revolted unto the said cardinal and his complices.* And on Munday last, after that sir John Campbel of Lundy and the abbot of Pittenweem had been here with the governour with

* Nothing can more strongly point out the vacillating and mutable temper of this feeble regent, than that on the 25th August he ratified the treaty with England, and proclaimed cardinal Bethune a traitor; and on the 3d of September held a private meeting with the same prelate, renounced the alliance of England, and attached himself to the French faction.

letters from the cardinal, the said governour, the same day towards night, departed hence suddenly, with not past three or four with him, alledging, that he would go to the Blackness to his wife, who, as he said, laboured of child. And yesterday he rode to my lord Livingston's house,* which is betwixt Linlithgow and Stirling, where the cardinal and the earl of Murray met with the said governour, and very friendly embracings were betwixt them, with also a good long communication. And then they departed from thence all together to Stirling, where they now be; which I am most certainly advertised of by a gentleman that saw it, and was present at the same. And the abbot of Paisley and David Panter were addressed and sent back again to Linlithgow by the governour; the said cardinal and the earl of Murray, of intent (as is supposed) to dispatch forth letters to the noblemen which be abroad, and went to gather their forces to serve the governour, to cease their gatherings, and to be at this town on Munday next, where, it is thought, shall be a convention of all parties, and all matters and divisions so determined and agreed as all shall be well. This last is only supposed to be, but no certainty is thereof. The gentleman that told me the same, saith, "That when he perceived the governour would needs go to Stirling with the cardinal, he prayed him to consider well what he did, and if he would needs put himself into his enemies hands, which would surely destroy him at length, though they made him fair weather at the first, he, for his part, would leave him, and serve him no longer." Whereunto the governour answered, even shortly, "that his going to Stirling should be for the best, for he should make all well." But what shall follow of the same it is uncertain; for some think that indeed they shall now concur all together, and observe the treaties in all points, if your majesty will accept the same, and dispense with the time which they have already omitted; and others think, that the noblemen, which all this while adhered to the governour, will not trust him now, nor the cardinal and his com-

* Callander-house, near Falkirk.

plices, so much as to come to any convention as shall be by them appointed: so that what shall hap God knoweth, and as all things shall succeed, I will advertise with diligence.

Finally, when I had first some inkling and knowledge of the said governour's revolt, I did advertise of the same by my letter to sir George Douglas, lying at Coldingham, within six miles of Berwick, who wrote unto me again this letter, which I have sent unto your majesty here inclosed. And thus, &c.

*From the Cardinal and his Faction to the Earl of Angus,
6th September, 1543.*

My lord, we commend us heartily to your lordship. It will please the samen to understand, that we being here consulted and reasoned many ways for the common weal and honour of this realm, and for peace and concord to be had amongst all the lords and noblemen of the samen, for forth-setting of our sovereign lady's authority, and for justice and policy to be had universal amongst the lieges thereof, and for stenching great and enorme displeasures, breaks, and inconveniences, that are else begun, and would grow far greater if remeid were not put thereto in time; whereupon we sent certain articles to my lord governour, and received fra him certain others, condescending all gladly to his grace's desires, and subscribed the same, with the whilks his grace being content, came to certain meeting with my lord-cardinal and earl of Murray, and agreed so well, that his grace came to this town, and has spoken with us all, and knows our heartly mind to all good ways, (whilks are and shall be ay without colour or dissimulation,) to bring all discords and dissensions to good friendship and amity, sua that we may concur to help and supply the common weal of this realm, and, as we believe, my lord-governour has written more largely to you: Exhortand herefore, and right effectuously praying your lordship to believe no other thing of us; and all scruple of displeasure being set aside,

that ye would come and concur with my lord-governour and us, and consult on all manner of things concerning the common weal, and other points foresaid: And because the coronation of our sovereign lady is deferred while Sunday the 9th of September instant, that ye would be here betwixt this and the said Sunday, where ye shall find nothing but all heartliness, and us appliable to you as to ourselves, and to make us all in one body. And Almighty God conserve your lordship. At Stirling, the 6th of September foresaid.

CARDINAL OF SCOTLAND,
THE CHANCELLOUR,
P. BISHOP OF MURRAY,
GEORGE EARL OF HUNTLEY,
EARL OF ARGYLE.

To my Lord of SUFFOLK, 6th September, 1543.

It may like your grace to understand, that I have received your letters of the 3d of September, the effects whereof I would be glad to put in execution; but the noblemen with whom I should practise the same, as the earls of Angus, Glencairn, and Cassils, with the rest of the king's majesty's friends, are abroad in their own countries, forty and fifty miles one from another. And, as I think, (now that the governour is thus revolted from them,) they will keep themselves in their own strengths at home, out of his danger, fearing least he and the cardinal, being (as they now be) agreed and joined together, should conspire any displeasure against any of them; so that I know not by what means to get any conference or communication with them, for the accomplishment of your device; for I am in such case here, as I dare not go, nor almost send out of my doors, and much less might I ride or travel abroad in the country to seek the said noblemen, the king's majesty's friends, without suspicion and danger; not doubting but your

wisdom can well consider, as the case standeth, what I am able to do in that behalf: And whether the said earls, and others the king's majesty's friends, will perform and keep such promises as they have made unto his highness, or not, I cannot tell; but if they do not, and, notwithstanding the governour's revolt, if they remain not firm and constant to the king's majesty, and do whatsoever his majesty will have them, to the uttermost of their powers, I will say, as all the world may say, that they be the falsest men on earth. Assuring you, that their power is not such, as to daunt the rest of Scotland is possible to them, without aid of the king's majesty's force and power; but I think them well able to defend themselves from the malice of their enemies all this winter, till the time and season of the year may serve the king's majesty to send in a main power for the accomplishment of such enterprizes as his majesty hath intended; wherein, if they be true men, they will join and serve accordingly.

Yesternight arrived here the abbot of Paisley; and, this afternoon, he came hither to my lodging to me, and told me, "That the governour hearing tell of the stir and commotion in this town, had directed him hither principally, because he understood that I was inquieted here through the lewdness of the people; which he prayed me to take in good part, and to ascribe the same to the rudeness, ignorance, and beastliness of the common people, which knew not what they did; assuring me, that the governour and noblemen of the realm would have such respect to me, as I should be without danger." I thanked him, and passing over this matter generally with him, I began to discourse of the governour his sudden revolt, which he by all means excused, alledging, "That the same undoubtedly should be for the best; for now, he trusted, the cardinal, and the other noblemen of that party, would concur with the governour and his partakers, in and for the accomplishment of the treaties in all points and conditions; and for that purpose, he thought, a convention should be forthwith appointed at this town, of all the noblemen of this realm; and so, he doubted not, but good agreement and quietness should follow on all parts." Thus he told me:

Wherefore I would be glad to know, in case it shall so come to pass that they will thus concur together, and accomplish the treaties, whether the king's majesty (considering they have already broken the said treaties, for none laying in of the hostages within the time limited) would now accept the same or not. And if his majesty intend not to accept it, then would I also be glad to know what his gracious pleasure is to have practised with his friends here in that behalf; to the intent, if such a convention shall be as is specified, I may the better work the same according to his most gracious pleasure. Which, as my most bounden duty is, I shall ensue and follow to the uttermost of my power.

Finally, the governour, and the cardinal, with his complices, be all together at Stirling; and having dispersed all their force and power, saving their houshold-servants, do sit there in councils; and, on Sunday next do intend (as I hear) to crown the young queen. Whereof, and of all other things, as the same shall succeed, I will advertise with diligence, &c.

To the King's Majesty, 11th September, 1543.

Please it your royal majesty to understand, that since the governour's revolt, because I would not only feel his inclination towards your majesty, and the accomplishment of his oath and promise, in and for the performance of the treaties, or whether the cardinal and his complices have any thing altered or changed him in that behalf; but also, that I might the better know somewhat of their proceedings at Stirling, I sent thither purposely your majesty's servant Henry Ray, pursevant of Berwick, with such letters to the governour, as whereof I send your majesty the copy here inclosed; and such answer as the said governour made thereunto, it may please your majesty to receive the same herewith. And, by mouth, he bade the said Henry tell me, "That he would do as much as in him was to observe the treaties, and more

than he might he could not do." Whereby, and by such other things as I do hear, I do perceive that the cardinal and his complices both have and will do all they can to interrupt the peace, and to win the governour to their devotion, which is very facile and easy to do now that he is amongst them. And yet I am informed, that he would gladly slip from them if he might, and that they have a special watch upon him that he should not so do; but if he do come to Edinburgh shortly, as his said answer proportioneth, I shall then know farther of his intention, whereof I shall not fail to advertise your highness accordingly. Once the earls of Angus, Glencairn, and Cassils, the lords Maxwell and Somervail, and sir George Douglas, with divers other noblemen and gentlemen, their friends, as the lords Ogilvy, Gray, and Glamis, &c. notwithstanding the governour's special letters, and also the cardinal's and his complices letters, containing many fair words and requests to them to come to Stirling to the coronation of the young queen, would not come there, nor do intend, as they say, to join or agree with the governour, the cardinal, or his complices, unless they shall conform themselves to the accomplishment of the said treaties. And since the governour's revolt, the earl of Angus hath assembled with him, at his house of Douglas, the earls of Glencairn and Cassils, the lords Maxwell and Somervail, the sheriff of Ayr, and laird Drumlanrig, and have subscribed a bond to abide firmly together, the one to take the others part against all men that will pursue or put at any of them; which bond they have sent to divers other noblemen and gentlemen, their friends, to be likewise subscribed by them. And yesterday came hither to me the said lord Maxwell and Drumlanrig, from the said earls of Angus, Glencairn, and Cassils, and lord Somervail, to declare unto me the making of the said bond, and therewith to require me to signify on their behalf to your majesty, "That, notwithstanding the governour's revolt, they were determined to stick together firmly to your majesty, in such sort as either your highness should have the treaties performed, or else they will be ready to serve your majesty, according to their promise, to the uttermost of their powers; wherein

their trust is, that your highness will assist them, without the which they shall not be able to bear the malice of their enemies." And hereof the said lord Maxwell and Drumlanrig prayed me to advertise your majesty on the behalf of all your highness's said friends, and to beseech your grace to advertise them of your gracious pleasure, what they shall do that may be most agreeable to your highness, which, they say, they will be ready to accomplish to the uttermost of their powers; and in the mean season, they will keep themselves from the malice and danger of all such as shall go about to annoy them by any means. This they prayed me to advertise your majesty on their behalfs, whereof they desire your majesty's answer to all points, as soon as shall please your highness. And as I do hear, the said earl of Angus, who is much moved with the governour's revolt, doth keep a great company and assembly of noblemen and gentlemen about him at Douglas, and is assuredly determined to remain and adhere firmly to your majesty to the uttermost of his power, in such sort as he hath written unto me, whose letters I have sent to your highness here inclosed, with also such other letters as I received with the same from him and the said earls of Castles and Glencairn jointly together.

Finally, the young queen was crowned on Sunday last at Stirling, with such solemnity as they do use in this country, which is not very costly: And, as I do understand, they have been about to chuse a council of the noblemen and clergy now assembled at Stirling, whereof to be eight spiritual men, and eight temporal; but they are not yet agreed upon the same. Whereof, and all other things worthy your majesty's knowledge, I shall not fail to advertise with all diligence, according to my most bounden duty, &c.

To the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, 15th September, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that I received your letters of the 9th of September, with the copies of such letters as the king's majesty hath written to my lord of Suffolk, and to the lords and others here, whom his majesty taketh to be well-minded to his highness, and the observation of the treaties. Which letters, addressed to the saids lords here, I understand were delivered to the hands of sir George Douglas, at Berwick, on Wednesday last, who, I think, will see them convoyed accordingly: And, for my part, I shall not fail to set forth the contents of the same, as I can, by any possible means, have opportunity thereunto, according to the king's majesty's pleasure and commandment, and to advertise your lordships how things go here at this present.

The old queen-dowager of Scotland, the governour, the cardinal, the earls of Huntley, Murray, Lennox, Argyle, and Bothwell, with others their complices, do intend to be here at this town on Munday next, or Tuesday at the farthest; and whilst they have been at Stirling, they have chosen a council, by whom the governour shall be directed and ordered in all the great affairs of this realm; of which council the said dowager shall be reputed as principal; the rest are named to be the cardinal, the archbishop of Glasgow, who is chancellour, the bishops of Murray, Orkney, Galloway, and Dumblane, and the abbots of Paisley and Cowper, of the spiritual sort; and of the temporality are named the earls of Angus, Huntley, Argyle, Murray, Glencairn, Lennox, Bothwell, and Marishal, whose counsel the governour is sworn to use, and to be ordered by, in all the matters of the realm. And yesterday the lord Fleming, and abbot of Paisley, were addressed to the earl of Angus, from the said dowager, the governour, the cardinal, and their complices, both to declare to him how he is chosen as one of the principal of the said council, and also to perswade him and the rest of the

lords of his party, to convene here at this town on Wednesday next, as well for the composing of all contentions and variances within the realm, as also for ordering of all matters with the king's majesty. But whether the said earl of Angus and his partakers will come or not, unless they may be assured that the treaties shall be fulfilled, it is uncertain; and yet it is thought that he will not stick to come to this town, because he may be here strong enough for the adverse party, if they should conspire any displeasure towards him, or any the king's majesty's friends, which, as far as I can learn, be determined to remain firmly at the performance and observation of the treaties as much as in them is. The lord Maxwell (being of opinion, that the cardinal and whole nobility of this realm, will condescend to the accomplishment of the treaties in all points, rather than abide the extremities of the wars) doth labour and desire this convention to be now had at this town on Wednesday next, and will do as much as in him is to bring it to pass; the rather because, as is aforesaid, the said earl of Angus and he, and others their partakers, may safely convene with their adverse party at this town without danger, and the sooner feel their utter minds and inclinations towards the performance of the said treaties, whereunto the said lord Maxwell thinketh, by fair means and perswasions, the whole nobility will be induced. This I know most certainly, that the lord Maxwell laboureth as one that would most gladly bring to pass that the treaties should be performed in quiet manner, with the universal consent of the whole realm; and yet, if the same cannot be brought to pass, he will remain himself, as far as I can perceive, firmly with the rest of the king's majesty's friends here, ready to serve his majesty, according to his promise.

If this convention take effect, which is laboured by all means that may be, it will certainly appear within this seven-night, whether they intend to perform the treaties or not: And if the cardinal and his complices will not permit the same to be observed, I think, that then the earls of Angus, Glencairn, and Cassils, the lords Maxwell and Somervail, with such other their friends as they can draw unto them,

will dissever themselves from the rest that shall be against the treaties, and, like true gentlemen, will be ready to serve his majesty, according to their promise, to the uttermost of their powers. But, to say mine opinion, I see not how they be able (without the king's majesty's force and power) to repress the malice of the adverse party, specially when in this quarrel they shall not be sure of their own forces. Wherefore, if in case of none-performance of the treaties, (whereof I have no great hope,) the king's majesty shall be driven to extend his force, I would wish that his majesty should send no less power to repress and daunt the untruth of this nation, than as if his majesty had no friends here at all, for there is none assurance to be made of their assistance ; which I doubt not but his majesty and your lordships will weigh and consider far otherwise and more deeply than my wit can arreach. And to declare unto your lordships, why I have not hope of the performance of the treaties, I have credible information, that neither the cardinal, nor sundry other of his complices, as Huntley, Lennox, Argyle, and Bothwell, and specially the holy kirk-men, can in no ways agree that pledges should be laid in for performance of the marriage, nor yet that the young queen should pass out of the realm before she attain her lawfull age of marriage : Wherefore, it is thought, that if this convention do now take effect, they will make new practices and treaties with the king's majesty, and to essay if they can induce his highness to relent in any of the saids two points, or at least in one of them : but within these six or seven days it will appear what they will do ; and, in the mean season, I will use all the means that possibly I can, both to know mens affections here, and also solicit an answer to such letters as the king's majesty hath lately written to the earls of Angus, Glencairn, and Cassils, with others his majesty's friends here, which I cannot do so well as I would, because I know not how to get any opportunity to speak with them, unless they come to this town : Wherein I shall, nevertheless, use all the good means I can.

Finally, I have received the king's majesty's letters, addressed to the provost of this town, and also his highness's other letters to the pro-

vost and all the inhabitants of the same ; by the copies of which, and also by your lordship's said letters, I do perceive how much his majesty tendereth my surety, being one of the poorest and most simple of his majesty's servants ; which his highness's princely clemency and goodness ought, of reason and congruence, besides duty, to encourage all men to serve. As for my part, I shall endeavour myself, without regard of life, or other respect, to serve here, or elsewhere, according to my most bounden duty. The said letters I caused forthwith to be delivered to the provost, who, as soon as he and his brethren had read them, sent them to Stirling to the governour and the other lords there. And yesterday the provost, and four of the chief of this town, came hither to me, and offered me all the service and humanity they could do for me, and prayed me to take all things past in good part, which, from henceforth, they doubted not, I should perceive to be amended. And the provost himself gave me thanks apart for the good report I had given him to the king's majesty, and seemed to be very glad that it pleased his majesty to remember him with his gracious letters of thanks, which, he said, he had not deserved. So that it seemeth to me his highness's said letters have wrought some good effect in them ; though, I assure your lordships, the common people of this town are much offended with the sharpness of the same. Nevertheless, I trust now, that (though for no love, yet for fear) they will let me be in more quietness from henceforth, for the time it shall be the king's majesty's pleasure to have me remain here ; and much the better, if they might have their ships restored ; for the which some of the most honest sort do now require me to write.* And in case I should tarry any longer here, I would indeed be a most humble suitor to the king's majesty, and you, my lords, for their delivery ; for else undoubtedly I shall be sure, if I abide amongst them, to have displeasure and unquiet-

* Henry having apparently given up all hope of the treaty being accomplished, had, with his usual impetuosity, seized and detained some Scottish trading ships, under pretence of their being bound for France. This impolitic step furnished the subsequent Scottish parliament with a pretext for annulling the English treaty.

ness. Which it may please your good lordships to consider accordingly, &c.

This Letter following is imperfect, the beginning thereof being lost ; but by that which remains of it, and by the Letters preceding and following, it is clear that it should be placed immediately after the Letter last preceding.

* * * * * The post was taken, as is aforesaid : I told them, that the man that hath taken him, whose name is Patrick Hume, hath not only put as many irons upon him as he is able to bear, as though he were a strong thief and murderer, but also hath threatned to hang him, with his letters about his neck, which I engrieved unto them no less than indeed the nature and quality of the fault requireth ; which they prayed me to comport withall, and ascribe the same to the disorder of the Borders, which, they said, did proceed of the rades, incursions, burnings, and spoils, daily made in Scotland by English-men. But here I notified unto them again the like attempts done by the Scottish in England, which I bade them perswade themselves that English-men would not sit still and behold unrevenged ; and if good peace and quietness were not observed on the Borders, I told them the difficulty thereof was in themselves. The cardinal prayed me to make him understand how the default should be in them, which I said I would do, and so declared unto them, in order, their proceedings with your majesty, since the decease of their late king ; and how that your majesty thereupon, of your princely clemency, staid your sword, being in open hostility with this realm, for most just and lawfull causes ; but also, upon special zeal to the commonweal of both realms, was content to commune and treat with them upon a peace and marriage, which they have now concluded with your majesty, and for their part have ratified the same, and also sworn to observe and perform the conditions, their none-

performance whereof, within the time limited by the treaties, I told them, was the only cause of disorder in the Borders. The cardinal said again, "That I knew the realm was divided, and that the greatest part of the nobility of the same was not present, nor consenting to the conclusion of the treaties, as they have been passed by private means, and by private councils not authorised by parliament; not doubting but your majesty was a prince of such wisdom and experience, as would rather seek such direct means in the conclusion and perfection of the treaties, as might be authentick and honourable to all intents and constructions, than by any private ways, which could not stand nor be available. And those noblemen, which be here present, minded no less to satisfy and please your majesty, than the others which had privately treated and concluded with your highness in all things reasonable, standing with the honour and surety of their sovereign lady, and the honour, liberty, and commonwealth of her realm." I answered, that what private causes of variance and division they had among themselves I could not tell; but sure I was, they could not say with truth and honour, that your majesty had treated privately with them; for they should not be able to deny justly, but that their ambassadors were addressed to your highness from time to time, fully instructed by the three estates of the realm in parliament; and, by the same authority, not only treated and concluded with your majesty, but also in end, by the same authority, the treaties have been ratified; and solemnly the governour, representing the state of the realm, in name thereof, hath sworn to observe the same in all points, as by the books thereof made and sealed with the great seal, and instruments thereupon made by notars in authentick form, more plainly may appear to the whole world; which, if they would perform and observe, should redound chiefly to their own wealth and benefit; and if they listed to vary or digress from the same, the dishonour should be theirs, beside the inconvenience that would follow; and sure they might be not to obtain the like conditions again at your majesty's hand. The cardinal replied, saying, "That he doubted not your majesty was a prince of

such honour, as would press them to nothing that was contrary to the wealth, honour, and liberty of the realm, and what they might do, not repugnant to the same, to satisfy and please your majesty, they would gladly do it. And in case for not granting to that which cannot stand with the honour and liberty of this realm, your majesty should prosecute your own kinswoman, being an infant, and spoil her country and dominion, it could not stand with your honour." I told him, he should not be judge of your majesty's honour; and bade him assure himself, that as your highness had friendly proceeded with them in such things as do undoubtedly tend to the advancement of the wealth, honour, and surety, of your majesty's pronept, and the commonweal of her realm; so your highness would not fail to prosecute the interrupters of the same as her enemies, not regarding her honour, nor the common wealth of her subjects. And in case they minded to begin any new communication or treaty with your majesty, they should best declare themselves; for they might be assured, that your majesty would not relent in any point of those things which were passed and concluded. And I told them, that when I came hither, I durst have laid my right hand, that your majesty would not have come, nor condescended to such conditions, as now your highness, upon special zeal to the rest and quietness of both realms, hath concluded. Wherefore, I advised them to consider the same like wise men, and either to conform themselves out of hand to accomplish the treaties, or else to declare plainly their utter minds in that behalf. The cardinal said again, "That they did not send for me at this time upon purpose to have talked any thing with me of this matter, saving that the same came thus in question by way of communication. The occasion of sending for me, was," he said, "the two causes aforesaid. And for this great matter," he said, "that all the lords were not yet come, but would be here very shortly; and then, when they were assembled, they would advise further upon the same, and do what should become them towards your majesty, not offending the honour and liberty of the realm." Which words of qualification they used always; but what

exposition they will make of the same I cannot tell. After this the governour arose, and took me apart, and told me, "That those men were very stiff against the treaties, but, for his part, he remained still the man that he was, and, as much as lay in him, he would do for the performance of the said treaties; praying me to write, and to beseech your majesty, not to conceive any evil opinion of him; for he would do all that he could, to the uttermost of his power, to please your majesty." I told him, I was sure your majesty had once a very good opinion of him; but I was uncertain what your highness had now conceived of him, upon his sudden revolt and departure from such noblemen as had all this while adhered unto him; with whom, if he had tarried, he might have wrought and enforced those men at his own will and pleasure. And, touching the treaties, he could not with his honour digress from them, considering how largely he had said and promised to your highness in that behalf. He assured me, "that it lay not in him to perform the same; but when the other lords should come in, he would plainly declare his affection and good will in that part, which was and should be of such sort as he had promised." And here came the earl of Murray, and interrupted our communication; so that, as it seemed, they were loath that I should have over-long talk with him, as indeed they do (now since they have him) use him like a man of his wit; and yet, as I perceive, be afraid that he should revolt from them. Thus I was forced to leave communication with him, and so departed. Furthermore, likeas I wrote in my letters to the lords of your majesty's council, that the lord Fleming and the abbot of Paisley were sent to the earls of Angus, Cassils, and Glencairn, to perswade them to a convention and meeting at this town; so the said earls and the lord Somervail have sent me word by James Douglas of Park-hedge, not only that they have answered the said lord Fleming and Abbot; that, before they can grant to any such convention, it behoveth them to advise with other noblemen their friends, which dwell on the other side of the Firth, in the North, and that done, will make a resolute answer; but also, that to-morrow the said earls of Angus,

Glencairn, Cassils, and the lords Maxwell and Somervail, do intend to meet all together at Douglas, my lord Angus's castle, where they will first make answer to your majesty's letters lately written to them; and also are determined, as they have sent me word, to answer resolutely to those lords which be here, that they will come to no convention, nor commune with them, unless they will concur all together, in and for the performance of the treaties, as your majesty shall perceive by a letter here inclosed, which the said lord Somervail wrote unto me; whereby your highness shall also perceive his suit for his son, who maketh special labour to come home for a time upon other pledges. The lord Maxwell, nevertheless, laboureth to have my lord Angus and the other lords to come to this convention, upon a certain hope and trust that he hath conceived, that if they once meet all together, they shall agree to the performance of the treaties; whereof I can perceive no likelihood, and therefore I know not what he meaneth by his sollicitation in that behalf. And this day he came to this town, and spoke with the lords which be here, and departed hastily again without speaking with me; but sent me word, "that if I did well, I should not be against the coming hither of the said earl of Angus, and the other lords his partakers; for he trusted verily, that the same should be a mean to and for the perfection of the treaties, which, though they should not be performed, yet the convention of all the lords together could do no hurt, for by the same it should appear who were with or who against the treaties; and such as were against the same, the rest might declare themselves their enemies: And there was no doubt but that my lord of Angus and friends might be here in as good surety and strength as in his own castle of Douglas." Thus the said lord Maxwell sent me word; so that whether this assembly and convention, which he laboureth after this sort, shall take effect or not, I cannot write the certainty; but, as far as I can perceive, there is none of my lord of Angus's party willing to it, but only the lord Maxwell. What shall succeed thereof, and of all other things worthy your majesty's knowledge, I will advertise with all diligence. Finally, it may

please your majesty to receive herewith the letters of the provost and burgesses of this town, answering as your grace lately wrote to them, who now begin to use me more courteously ; and since they received your majesty's letters, have made me a small present of wine, and in words offered me great humanity, which I trust they will continue. And thus, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

The earl of Huntley is arrived here ; so that where it was thought that he was revolted from this party to the earl of Angus, the same appeareth now to be untrue. But touching the earl of Lennox ; as I was closing up this letter, came to me one of his servants, and brought me two letters from my lord of Glencairn, to be addressed, one to my lady Margaret Douglas, and the other to myself ; which two letters it may please your majesty to receive here inclosed. And for credence, he told me, " that the earl of Lennox, his master, had left the governor and cardinal's party, and being hitherto noted a good French-man, is now become a good English-man, and will bear his heart and service to your majesty ; and very shortly intendeth to dispatch a servant of his to your highness, and to the said lady Margaret, with his full mind in all behalves." This was all his credence, which I have also thought meet to signify unto your majesty, &c.*

* As soon as the governor united himself to the cardinal, the latter, having no farther use for the earl of Lennox, whose claims he had hitherto set in opposition to those of Arran, began to treat that nobleman with such coldness and neglect, that he, in resentment, changed sides also ; and from being chief of the French faction, became almost the only faithful adherent to that of England. There is in Hayne's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 18, a letter from king Henry to Lennox, assuring him of his protection and friendship.

To the King's Majesty, 24th September, 1543.

Please it your royal majesty to understand, that yesterday, at three of the clock afternoon, the queen-dowager of this realm, the governour, the cardinal, and the other lords of that party which be here, as the earls of Huntley, Murray, Argyle, Bothwell, and Montrose, the lord Fleming, and others of that council, besides the bishops of Glasgow, Murray, Orkney, &c. sent for me ; and at mine access, the cardinal, on the behalf of the rest, declared unto me, “ that whereas there hath now been passed, by treaty betwixt your majesty and the governour, and other lords of this realm, a peace and contract of marriage, in such sort as appeareth by the books and writings thereof made, and also ratified and confirmed by the said governour ; which peace was also proclaimed in both the realms, so as the merchants, subjects of this realm, taking the same for good and perfect, did thereupon adventure their ships and goods to the sea, as they have been accustomed in time of peace. Nevertheless, contrary to the tenor and purport of the said treaties, not only the ships and goods are taken in England, but also divers incurses, burnings, and spulzies, have been made into Scotland, on the Borders, since the said peace proclaimed, as in time of open war and hostility, to the great hurt and impoverishing of the subjects : wherefore, supposing that I knew the cause of the said ships, they desired me to declare the same, and also to put to my good will and helping hand for the restitution of them to the poor merchants.” I answered, that, touching the stay of the said ships, my lord governour knew as much as I did of the cause thereof, which I shewed him immediately after they were staid ; and, as far as I knew, they were staid for two causes ; one for that they were loaden with victuals into France ; which, I told them, was contrary to the treaties, for that the same would not bear that they should minister any kind of aid to your majesty's enemies. And the other cause was, for that

such as were within the said ships did speak very slanderous, shamefull, and despiteous words of the governour and other noblemen of the reahn. Which two causes, I told them, as far as I knew, were the first occasion of the stay of the said ships. And touching the discord on the Borders, I told them, the same proceeded on their party, and that your majesty's subjects were first provoked by the manifold incurses and attemptates done by their Borderers in England ; which I delated in such sort as they could not well deny it. But for the stay of the ships, the cardinal said, " the causes thereof by me declared were not sufficient ; for as to the loading with victual, he understood perfectly that they had no such loading, except it were fish, which," he said, " is their common merchandize ; and he could not perceive by the treaties, but that the merchants, being subjects of both realms, might use their accustomed traffique with such merchandize as they have been in use to transport to other countries. And as to the unseemly words spoken of the governour, the punishment thereof appertained to him, and no cause why your majesty should stay the said ships and goods." I answered, that if they well weighed and considered the said treaties, they should facily perceive, that without offence of the same, they might not transport victuals, nor minister any kind of aid to such as were your majesty's enemies : And fish, I told them, could not be denied, was victuals, and laden, as themselves confessed, in the said ships to be transported into France, being in open hostility with your majesty, which cannot be avoided, is a certain kind of aid ministered to your majesty's enemies, and therefore a lawfull and just cause to stay the said ships ; requiring them to persuade themselves, that your majesty would not have done the same, but upon such grounds as your highness is able to justify and maintain. The cardinal praying me to help to the restitution of the said ships and goods, left that matter, and proceeded to another, saying, " That whereas the governour for his part had ratified the treaties, and made his oath in my presence to observe the same ; which treaties, so ratified and sealed with the

great seal of Scotland, were delivered unto me by force of my commission, and by me delivered again to the laird of Fyvie,* who took upon him to convoy and deliver the same to your majesty, and was purposely sent to be present when your highness should ratify the said treaties, and make your oath according to the proposit of the same, your majesty had not, nevertheless, for your part, ratified the said treaties, nor taken your oath as the same required." I answered, it was true, and prayed them to weigh one thing with another. For the laird of Fyvie, as the governour, being present, knew well enough, was not only sent to receive your majesty's oath and ratification, but also to sue, on the governour's behalf, for a longer time and respite to be granted for the performance of the conditions of the treaties; whereunto your majesty had answered, that you would appoint no time certain, but perceiving them to proceed faithfully, would be content to bear with them for a small time.

And touching the ratification, forasmuch as the hostages were not laid, which was the principal knot of the treaties, your majesty deferred it only upon that consideration. The cardinal then demanded of me, "Whether, in case they should wholly conform themselves to the laying of the hostages and accomplishment of the treaties, I were able to promise on your majesty's behalf, that your majesty would accept the same, and not only restore the said ships and goods, but also cause all attemptes done on the Borders, since the time of the abstinence taken, to be redressed: as for their part, they would do the semblable; for unless your majesty would so do, it were in vain," they said, "for them to devise upon the perfection and accomplishment of the treaties." Whereunto I answered, that considering the time was past, within the which they should have performed certain conditions of the treaties, the first breach whereof hath proceeded of their party, and

* Sir George Meldrum of Fyvie was the deputy sent with the Scottish ratification of the treaty of marriage and alliance to the court of England, and he was to have received that of Henry in exchange. But Henry, as the cardinal here complains, dismissed Fyvie without the counter-ratification.

your highness thereby at liberty; and again considering what alteration arises daily among them; I was not able to assure them on your majesty's behalf, that your highness would restore the said ships and goods, or cause the said redress of all attemptates on the Borders to be made, or yet accept their offer, if they would now conform themselves to the accomplishment of the treaties; but knowing your majesty to be specially affected to the weal of this realm, and to the rest and tranquillity of both the realms, I supposed, that if your majesty might perceive them to proceed faithfully and honourably to the effectual execution of the said treaties, according to the proportion of the same, your princely clemency was such, as I thought your highness would not only accept the same, but also use toward them all such favour and gratuity, from time to time, as the amity required; and semblably, I thought, would restore the ships, and cause redress the attemptates done on the Borders, they doing the like. This, I told them, was my supposal, though I were not able, nor would take upon me, to promise the same. The cardinal then required me, on the behalf of the rest, to write unto your majesty, to know your gracious pleasure in that part: I said I would, with good will, write at their desire; and therewith I told them, they should do best to declare their utterminds, whether, in case your majesty will grant it, they will indeed concur all together, and perform the treaties, to the intent I might also write the same unto your majesty, which were a frank and plain manner of proceeding; and the shortest way, in my poor opinion. They told me, "That the matters were weighty, and they must needs have time to devise upon the same." But I answered, that I doubted not they had sufficiently and with good deliberation devised thereupon, and, as I thought, it could not be but that they were resolved what they would do in that behalf. Nevertheless I could get no more of them, but that they desired me to write unto your majesty in the case afore expressed, and in the mean season they would advise upon the matter, and declare their resolution upon knowledge of your majesty's pleasure; and so we broke off communication; wherein also there was some question of the vali-

dity of the treaties, which they alledged to be passed privately, and not by public authority; and I replied to the contrary as my poor wit would serve me, being assured, that before indifferent judges, I am able to confute them in that behalf.

On Saturday last, at night, arrived here the lord Somervail, the sheriff of Ayr, and the laird of Drumlanrig, addressed hither from the earls of Angus, Cassils, and Glencairn, the lord Maxwell, and sir George Douglas, with letters and credence from them to the governour, cardinal, and others that be here, which contained in effect, that unless they would concur together, and perform the treaties concluded with your majesty, the saids earls of Angus, Cassils, &c. would in no wise come to any convention or communication with them, but would, for their parts, stand to the accomplishment of the said treaties, as much as in them was, as to the thing that the governour and three estates of the realm had promised and concluded, which they took to be for the honour and common weal of the same. And yesterday, after many high words used on the part of the governour and cardinal, with their complices here, towards the earl of Angus and his partakers, as the said lord Somervail hath declared unto me, the said governour and cardinal have given answer, "That if the said earl of Angus and his partakers will perform the conditions of the said treaties, and lay the first hostages of themselves and the prisoners, they will concur with them in the rest accordingly;" so, as the said lord Somervail telleth me, "If your majesty will accept the most part, or the one half of your prisoners for pledges at this time, there is no doubt," he saith, "but the treaties will be performed." I told him, that I was sure your majesty would not accept any of the prisoners for pledges. In which case he assured me again, "That then there is no other way but force to bring them to it, and then your majesty must needs prepare for the wars, which in that case would undoubtedly follow." And, furthermore, he told me, "That the said earl of Angus, and other lords, your majesty's friends here, had made answer unto your majesty's letters, lately addressed unto them, which they intended to convoy unto your majesty

by the west Borders with all diligence." And, as far as I can perceive, if trust may be given to their words and writings, they be determined, for their parts, to keep their promises made to your majesty, and to adventure their lives in the maintenance and defence of the same.

Finally, when I was yesterday with the said dowager, the governour, and the other lords here, I demanded the delivery of my post that was taken, and my letters, according to their promise; which, notwithstanding that I had sundry times sent for unto them, they had not performed. And they answered me, "That the post was a soldier of Berwick, and one of them that had harried and stohn the goods of Patrick Home, who therefore had taken him for a lawful prisoner;" which I defended, alledging, that though he were one of the garrison of Berwick, yet was he an ordinary post appointed to serve your majesty at this time, and repairing to me with your grace's letters, ought not to be in such ways interrupted. As for my letters, they said, "they should be forthwith sent unto me;" as, indeed, within an hour after, they did send the same to me to my lodging; but whether I shall have the post delivered or not I cannot tell. The letters being in a packet, they had opened, and, as I have credible information, they have had them in this town these two or three days, which being in cypher, they had kept the longer to prove their cunning in the decyphering of them, which (as I credibly am informed) they could do. The packet contained nothing else, but a letter to me from my lord of Suffolk and my lord Durham, [*This that followeth should be in cypher.*] with also a copy of a letter addressed from your majesty to the earl of Angus, the effect whereof I shall set forth to my possible power, as the case shall require, with all the rest of your highness's affairs here, according to my most bounden duty, as knoweth our Lord, &c.

To my Lords of SUFFOLK and DURHAM, 27th September, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that I have received two letters from you in cypher, one of the 22d, the other of the 23d of September, which were brought unto me by Scottish-men; not doubting but ye have likewise received such letters as I lately wrote to the king's majesty; by the which ye may perceive how things go here, which do remain still in such terms, as if the king's majesty will accept four or three of such as be his highness's prisoners for hostages at this time, and also will restore the ships and goods, and cause redress to be made of the attemptates on the Borders; it is thought, that all the nobility of the realm will, in that case, concur in the accomplishment of the treaties. Nevertheless the earl of Angus, and other lords of his party, do still keep themselves at home, and will not convene with those lords here, but intend, as I am informed, to be at this town this day seven-night, with such a company and power, as if those lords here will not be agreeable to perform the treaties, they shall of force be compelled thereunto. Thus I am informed, and as it shall succeed I will advertise accordingly. And whereas I lately wrote unto your lordships, that I feared lest the letter had been intercepted which the king's majesty wrote to the earl of Angus, whereof ye sent me the copy in cypher; I am now certainly advertised, by letters from sir George Douglas, that the same was safely delivered unto him untouched at Coldingham, and by himself convoyed to the earl of Angus, to his house of Douglas, who also hath already made answer of the same to the king's majesty; which answer sir George Douglas hath to convoy by post, and will, as he hath written to me, ride himself therewith to Berwick, because he dare trust no other man to carry it. And also, as far as I can perceive by his letters, he intendeth shortly to be with your lordships; for he hath prayed me to excuse him, that he came not to you so soon as he would, the cause whereof was his late being

in the west-land with the earl of Angus, and as yet he cannot ride, for that he is somewhat accrazed as he hath written to me.

Finally, the cardinal hath made sundry means to me, to speak with me at length, since he came hither, in so much as yesterday I spake with him at the Black-friers in this town; and, at our meeting, he made me a long discourse altogether tending to his excuse and purgation in such things as he thought the king's majesty was offended with him for; "wherein," he said, "he would justify that he had been misreported, alledging, that there was no prince in the world whose favour he desired so much as the king's majesty's, and no man in Scotland should more willingly than he set forth all things to his majesty's pleasure and contentation, not offending his duty of allegiance." And promised to do as much as in him was, to bring the whole nobility and clergy of the realm to condescend and concur together, in and for the performance of the treaties: Assuring your lordships, that in words he shewed himself most desirous of the king's majesty's favours; but how his deeds shall declare him hereafter, I cannot tell, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

I received your letters of the 24th of September, with also a letter in cypher from the lords of the council, which appointeth unto me a very strange commission; assuring your lordships, that it cannot be but very hard and dangerous for me, and all that be with me, to abide here in a strange country amongst our enemies in time of open war and hostility, where I can do no manner of service after the sort that I am here: Wherefore I have now written again to my said lords of the privy-council in that part, beseeching your lordships to cause my letters be convoyed to them with all diligence, &c.

To the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, 27th September, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that yesterday I received your letters of the 22d of September, by the which I do perceive, that the king's majesty minding suddenly to correct the folly and untruth of those Scottish, † would be loth that I should be in any danger thereby; and therefore would I should convoy myself to Temptallon, or some other place of strength belonging to his majesty's friends here, wherein I might be sure from their malice, and advertise his highness from time to time of as much knowledge as I can get. Albeit no man alive shall with better will adventure himself than I shall, without respect of life, to serve his majesty; yet I beseech your lordships to consider my estate here, and what service I shall be able to do in time of open war and hostility, after the sort that I am here; assuring your lordships, I know not how it is possible for me to convoy myself and my folks out of this town either to Temptallon or any other place of strength: For I am secretly informed, that the inhabitants of this town will not suffer me to depart till they have their ships; and nightly there is a watch about mine house here, which I am made believe is for my surety; but it is told me secretly, that it is purposely appointed to watch me, that I should not steal away in the night; and yet if I might steal away, being here reputed the king's ambassador, whether it should be his highness's honour or not, your lordships can much better weigh and consider than I. Surely, my lords, I have been as ill treated here as ever was man, and in no little danger of my life, although in time of peace; and, therefore, ye may facilely conjecture, if I abide here, how I shall be handled in time of war: Not doubting but, if it please the king's majesty to revoke me, in case the

† Henry was now preparing the fleet and army, which, under the earl of Hertford, burned Leith and Edinburgh in the following spring.

wars succeed, the nobility here, for their own honours, will see me safely convoyed out of the realm, as, in such cases, ambassadors have been used.

Finally, if I should honestly convoy myself to Temptallon, which is almost thirty miles within Scotland, yet I assure your lordships, I see not how I could do any service to the king's majesty ; for, being so shut up in a castle, neither could I get any manner of advertisement, nor, though I might, could I have opportunity of messengers to convoy the same through the country, the king's majesty having an army in Scotland. Wherefore eftsoons I beseech your lordships to weigh my poor condition, and consider what I am able to do after this sort, so as I may know certainly, by the next post, what the king's majesty's pleasure is I should do, in case war or peace succeed, which I shall follow to the uttermost of my power. And thus, &c.

To my Lords of SUFFOLK and DURHAM, 30th September, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that on Friday last, the dowager, the cardinal, the earls of Huntley, Argyle, and Bothwel, departed this town, over the water towards St Andrews ; and yesterday the said Huntley and Argyle took their way homeward, viz. Huntley to the north, and Argyle westwards ; the said dowager, cardinal, and the earl Bothwel, remaining still at St Andrews. The earl of Murray went not out of this town, but abideth still here. The governour, seeming somewhat accrazed, abode here also, promising the cardinal assuredly to come after to St Andrews : But some think he feigned himself sick, because he would not go with them. And yesterday he passed to a castle, four miles hence, called Dalkeith, where sir George Douglas lieth, with whom he went purposely to commune ; and this day the said sir George sent me word. " That the governour would now, for keeping of his promise, pass to St Andrews, and would not fail to return hither on Wednesday or Thursday next ; and in case he could in-

duce the cardinal and his complices to come with him, to make an end with the king's majesty in laying of the hostages and performance of the treaties, he would bring them with him ; and if they would not, he would leave them and come himself, to join with the earl of Angus and rest of that party, which intend all to be here on Thursday next.' This the said sir George sent me word of, but he doubteth much if it shall be performed. And this night the governour is at Linlithgow, intending to-morrow to go over the water to the cardinal, who, at his departing on Friday last, sent Rothesay, the Scottish herauld, to make his hearty commendations to me, with gentle offers of his service to his majesty, and all the pleasure he could do to me, and therewith also to tell me, that he would be here again within four or five days. But some men think, that, get he once into his castle of St Andrews, he will not come here a good while.

Thus be all the great men now dispersed, and when they shall be together again I know not ; but the earl of Angus and his company will be here, they say, on Thursday next, and the earl of Lennox with them ; who, as I am informed, is now wholly at the devotion of my lord of Angus ; which maketh me to think that the governour will not be here ; for Lennox and he, as I suppose, will not be both of one party. Other things I have not to advertise at this present, but would be glad to hear some news from your lordships. And thus, &c.

To my Lords of SUFFOLK, PARR, and DURHAM, 5th October, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that I have received your letters of the 1st of October ; upon the contents whereof, according to your lordships advertisement, I have communed with sir George Dougias, who first touching the safe custody of the young queen of Scotland, hath answered me, " That she is kept in the castle of Stirling by such noblemen as were appointed thereunto by the parliament, and such as having the castle well furnished with ordinance and artil-

lery, will defend the same, and keep her so as he thinketh." The king's majesty's friends here are not able to get the said young queen out of the castle ; for they have no great pieces of ordinance wherewith to besiege the same. And besides that," he saith, " that if the barons, which have the custody of her, do perceive themselves unable to keep and defend her in the said castle ; and if they shall perceive that any man should go about to have her out of their hands, (which could not be so secretly wrought but they must needs have knowledge of it, they being charged with her custody upon their lives and lands,) might easily convoy her person out of the castle into the Highland, which is not far from Stirling, where it is not possible to come by her ; and therefore he thinketh it vain to go about by force to remove her out of the custody she is in. And yet," he told me, " that there was a communication amongst such as were the king's majesty's friends here about such a purpose ; which was, that if the king's majesty would advance such a convenient sum of money unto them, wherewith they might wage certain soldiers, they would besiege the cardinal in his castle of St Andrews, and also the castle of Stirling, to see if they could get the cardinal into their hands, and also the possession and custody of the young queen ; which purpose," he said, " they had not resolved ; but now, at this assembly, when all the lords of their party are come hither, which be not yet arrived, he thought they would commune further of the same. And as touching the strongholds," he said, " it would be hard to come by them ; for such as were in the hands of the adverse party, as Stirling, Edinburgh, and Dunbar, were very strong, but what might be done with money and reward, he could not tell ; for the captain of the castle of Edinburgh is one of the Hamiltons, which," he said, " be all false and inconstant of nature ; and therefore, he doubteth not, what might be wrought and practised with him for money," which he hath promised to essay and prove as soon as he may conveniently. For the rest, I see not that he hath any hope to attain them. This is the answer of the said sir George to the points of your lordships said letters, which I have

thought meet to signify unto you ; and therewith also advertise you, that yesternight arrived here the earl of Angus, the lords Maxwell and Somervail, with whom, and also with the said sir George, I have this day conferred upon the contents of the king's majesty's last letters, which I received yesterday, containing his majesty's pleasure, not to accept the treaties as they be now passed ; to have the governour and cardinal delivered into his majesty's hands, or deprived ; to have a council of twelve noble personages of this realm established, and also eight others, to be authorised and appointed to have the custody of the young queen, and those to be removed which now be about her. Upon which things, in such sort as is prescribed unto me by the king's majesty's said letters, I have discoursed with the said earl of Angus, lords Maxwell and Somervail, and sir George Douglas, which seem unto me not to mislike the king's majesty's advice in that part : but they say, the governour, as they believe, will come unto them this night or to-morrow, which if he do, they may not with their honours lay hands upon him, but rather entertain him amongst them ; because he hath yet the place and authority of the realm, though they intend not to give any credit to whatsoever he saith. And, besides that, considering that he is established governour by a parliament, and also such as now have the custody of the young queen, appointed thereunto by authority of the same ; neither may the governour be deprived, nor they discharged of that custody, but by a parliament again, which, they say, will take a long time both for the summonance of it, and for such other things as thereunto be requisite. And as for the cardinal, they wish that he were in the king's majesty's hands, so as he might never more trouble this realm ; but now that he is in his castle of St Andrews, which he hath made very strong, they think it will be hard for them to come by him. And also, touching the alteration of the custody of the young queen, they seem to make it very difficile ; and, in effect, did cast the same doubts therein which sir George Douglas moved unto me, as is afore expressed. Nevertheless, they said, they would commune further of the same, and also of the

other premisses, at the arrival here of the earls of Cassils and Glencairn, which be not yet arrived ; but, as is supposed, will be here this night or to-morrow. Upon whose arrival they have promised me to make their resolute answer to the king's majesty in that behalf, which I shall not fail to advertise with diligence.

Finally, I see not that those lords which be already arrived here, nor those which be to come, as the earls of Lennox, Cassils, Glencairn, Rothés, and Marishal, the lords Gray, Glammis, and Ogilvy, who be all the earl of Angus's friends and kinsmen, do bring any force or number of men with them, but only their household servants ; as I think they need not, for here is no man to resist them, the adverse party being scattered, as I wrote to you in my last letters ; and the governour again, as I understand, will revolt to this party ; only the old queen, the cardinal, and earl Bothwell, remain in the castle of St Andrews, whereof the people speak largely enough, because in the late king his time, he had her in some jealousy for the over-much familiarity betwixt her and the cardinal. And thus, &c.

To my Lords of SUFFOLK, PARR, and DURHAM, 6th October, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that all the lords of the earl of Angus's party are now arrived here ; and even now came to me the lord Somervail, and told me, " That the earl of Lennox had received letters here this morning from Dumbarton, making mention, that six French ships are landed there ; in the which is a legate come from the bishop of Rome, and an ambassador from the French king, with money, munition, and powder ; * and James Stewart, who was heretofore

* These were, according to Lesly, Francis Contarini, patriarch of Venice, and legate of pope Paul III., and from the French king, the Sieurs de la Broche, Menager, and Anerat, who brought with them a large sum to be delivered to the earl of Lennox, whose apostasy from the cause of France and Rome was not yet known to those powers. But Sadler elsewhere calls the legate Mark German ; and the earl of Arran, in a letter to the pope, calls him Marcus Grymanus, patriarch of Aquileia.---*Bishop Keith's History*, p. 40.

sent by the said earl of Lennox into France for the said money and munition, is now also arrived in the said ships, and wrote hither the said letters, requiring the said earl of Lennox either to come himself, or send his folks to Dumbarton, for to convoy the said legate and ambassador to Glasgow. Whereupon the said earls of Lennox and Glencairn are both departed suddenly in all haste to the west seas, to get into their hands the saids ships, money, and munition, to the intent to keep the same from the possession of the adverse party." And the said lord Somervail telleth me, "that the earl of Lennox will justly excuse the same, and hath his mind so set on the marriage of the lady Margaret Douglas, that he will not slip now from the party of the king's majesty's friends here, notwithstanding the arrival of the said aid out of France;" which I can hardly believe. But what shall succeed thereof, I will advertise with diligence.

POSTSCRIPT.

The earl of Cassils came to me, and told me, "that the said French ships were not landed, and, as he thought, would not land their money and munition, till they should perceive and see how the same might be employed for the purpose and benefit of France; wherefore he wished, if the king's majesty had any ships on the sea, that some of them might repair with speed to the west seas, where they might be sure to find the said French ships afore Dumbarton. Nevertheless," he saith, "the said earls of Lennox and Glencairn will do as much as they can to cause the French-men land their money and munition at Dumbarton, or some other place thereabout, within the strength of the said earl of Lennox, who, the said earl of Cassils thinketh verily, will keep promise with the earl of Angus, and hold a true part towards the king's majesty; which he hath promised to do, and to spend all the French gold, if he can get it into his hands, in such quarrel as the said earl of Angus shall take in hand. This he saith; but what he will do, knoweth God. It is very like, that the coming of those French ships will make a great change here; and the said earl of Cas-

sils telleth me, "That the governour and cardinal had a secret informaiton, that the king's majesty was preparing an army to invade Scotland, which they do greatly suspect; and therefore they were once in purpose to have addressed forth letters in all the parts of this realm, to charge all men to be in readines, and to repair to the Borders for defence against the 14th of this instant month." But the said earl of Cassils telleth me, "that he heareth not that any such letters be yet gone forth." Whereof, as I shall hear further, I will advertise accordingly, &c.

To the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, 14th October, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that I have received from my lord of Suffolk and others, the king's majesty's council at Darlington, a copy of your lordships letters, addressed unto me the 6th of October, the original whereof is, by all likelyhood, not written in cypher, which my said lords do keep, and have sent a copy of the same in cypher for fear of interception, whereunto indeed it is very necessary to have regard, for it is much ado to convoy letters safely in this country. Upon the contents of your said letters, I have communed with the earl of Angus and others, his majesty's friends here, in such sort as is appointed unto me by your said letters; and they say, they will have regard to the execution of the same as they may to the uttermost of their power. And, touching the governour's being at Dalkeith with sir George Douglas, the said sir George saith, "That the governour came thither unto him upon trust; so that unless he should have betrayed him, he might not have stayed him. And likewise," he said, "that the said governour hath sithence that time been upon trust at this town with the earl of Angus and the other lords here, who might have laid hands on him and kept him, if they would dishonour themselves, which he trusteth the king's majesty will not require of them." Also, I have spoken with the provost, and others of the most

substantious inhabitants of this town, both touching such English ships and goods as be stayed here, notwithstanding their safe conduct, and touching the restitution of their ships stayed in England, upon the condition expressed in your said letters. For answer unto the which two points, they said, they would take advisement, and when they had resolved, would repair again to me with their answers; which, as it shall be, I shall advertise unto your lordships. He that was late provost, hath left the office at Michaelmass last; and sir Adam Otterburn, who hath been heretofore ambassador in England, is now chosen provost, who is noted to be of the cardinal's faction, and a great enemy to the king's majesty's purposes; and yet to me always he pretendeth the contrary, alledging, "that such trouble as he had in the late king's time here was for England's sake, because he was suspected to be over-good an English-man."

Finally, as touching the Falcon, and the other French ships of Diep, specified in your said letters, which were chased into Montrose and Dundee, here in Scotland, by the king's majesty's navy, I cannot hear where they are become; for in those parts they are not. The Falcon was convoyed away out of the haven of Montrose three weeks ago, as I am informed by the master of the ship, with the mariners and soldiers, and departed to the seas, leaving their captain behind them, who is here in this town, affirming the same to be true; and that he knoweth not where the said Falcon is become; but I shall do the best I can to learn the truth thereof; and, as I shall get knowledge of the same, as also where her fellows are become, which were but two small boats, I shall advertise accordingly. And thus, &c.

To the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, 16th October, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that I have received a copy, in cypher, of your letters of the 11th of October, containing the king's majesty's pleasure how I should eftsoons confer with the

earl of Angus, and the other lords of that party, upon such points as I have heretofore communed with them. But forasmuch as the said lords are now departed from this town westwards, as I wrote in my last letters to the king's majesty, it is not possible for me to have any conference with them upon the same till they return; for it behoveth not me to ride abroad in this country, the wars being open, and so many attemptes and great damages done to the Scots, as are daily done on the Borders, which doth so stir and incense the people here against me and mine, that it is like enough, if the same form continue, that I cannot remain here without great danger. And therefore, if the earl of Angus and sir George Douglas keep touch to me, I shall be convoyed to Temptallon within those three or four days, unless the town here will detain me perforce, which indeed be very loath I should depart, because, as long as I am here, they be in hope to have their ships restored. But I intend to make an experiment, whether they will detain me or not, as it is secretly informed me that indeed they will.

And now to the points of your lordships said letters, to be conferred eftsoons with the said lords: First, Touching the obtaining of the young queen into their hands; they have told me plainly, at my last conference with them, before the receipt of your said letters, that it is not possible for them to get her perforce out of the castle of Stirling. And, to say my poor opinion, whereas it is expressed in your lordships said letters, that they might by policy accomplish the same, as by way of licence to visit her in the said castle, in such sort as your said letters do purport. I cannot see how they can prevail that way; for her guardiars, being all undoubtedly of the adverse party, which do also suspect and fear, that the earl of Angus, and other his majesty's friends, intend to convoy her from them into England, will not suffer any of that party to have entry into the castle, but in such sort as they may themselves be masters; nor they use not to suffer any of the nobles of the realm to enter, but with one or two servants with him at the most, saving only the dowager, who, by the parliament, is admitted to be continually resident about her said daughter, with a certain number at

her pleasure ; so as I cannot perceive how they may win her into their hands by any such policy.

Secondly, touching the strong-holds, they said plainly, “ That they know not how to come by them ; for if they might,” they say, “ they were mad men, if they would not take them into their hands, which is one of the things they most principally desire ; and, so long as they were here in this town, the captain of the castle here kept himself continually within it, and was determined, if they had made any proclamations, or put any thing in execution to the derogation of the governour’s authority, (which was suspected,) to have beaten them all out of the town with shot of ordinance from the castle ; for the which purpose he had mounted and charged all the pieces within the same,” as the lords themselves told me. The castle of Dunbar is holden by a stout man, who beareth none affection to England, and I think surely he will not deliver it out of his hands, neither to the governour himself, nor to no man else. And the said lords told me plainly, “ They were out of all hope to come by it.” For Dumbarton, to say mine opinion, the earl of Lennox had as leif part with his right hand as with it ; and I think if the same should be moved now unto him, it were the next way to make him revolt to the adverse party, with the French money and munition which he hath now gotten into his possession at Dumbarton, within the said castle ; † and, therefore, it were not amiss, in my poor mind, not to be over hasty with him in that matter for a while, till the king’s majesty see whether the said earl of Lennox will himself repair to his highness, or what they will further do towards his majesty, according to their last writings.

Thirdly, touching the sending of any of the king’s majesty’s ships for apprehension of the French ships at Dumbarton, now that the money and munition is landed, with also the legate and French ambassador, and the ships brought into the haven, whereby that purpose is

† The money was delivered to Lennox by the French agent, who was ignorant of the revolution which had transferred his allegiance to the English faction.

disappointed, I need not therefore to have any treaty with the earl of Cassils in that behalf.

And finally, touching the said legate, I see not that they intend to detain him, or the French ambassador, or any of their train, as prisoners, but rather to use them as ambassadors, with as much demeanour and good entertainment as they can. And now that they have the said money and munition in their hands, laid up into the castle of Dumbarton, they will convoy the said ambassador to Glasgow, where they may use him with better entertainment than at Dumbarton. And I am informed, the dowager, governour, and cardinal, have sent strait commandment to the earl of Lennox, to convoy the said legate and ambassador to Stirling, with also the money and munition; but he hath yet refused to accomplish the same: howbeit, it may be he will send the legate and ambassador to Stirling; but for the money and munition, it will be hard to get the same out of his hands, which I think surely he will not so soon part withall. What shall succeed hereof, I will not fail to advertise accordingly, &c.

To my Lords of SUFFOLK, PARR, and DURHAM, 18th October, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that the French ambassador, who lately arrived at Dumbarton, came on Tuesday night last to Stirling, and the legate came thither afore them on Munday last; whereby ye may perceive that the king's majesty's advice to the earl of Glencairn to take the legate prisoner came too late; for he was then, and now is, sure among his friends at Stirling, where the dowager, governour, and cardinal, and earl of Huntley, are all four lodged together in the castle; because, as I am informed, they dare not ly in the town, for fear of the earl of Angus and that party. Yesterday the said French ambassador had access to the dowager and governour, but what is their legation I can get no certainty, although the same may be right easily conjectured. But once the French money, which they

brought, is in the possession of the earl of Lennox, within the castle of Dumbarton, and also as much of the munition as could be gotten a land in so short time. And the earls of Angus, Lennox, Glencairn, and Cassils, with others of that party, be all at Glasgow, saving sir George Douglas, who lieth very sick at a place called Pinky, within four miles of this town: But what they have done since their meeting and assembly at Glasgow, or what they will do, I cannot tell; for, since their departure of this town, I have had no advertisement from them. And since the revolt of the governour, I have lost a great commodity of such espials as I had, which were ready to do me pleasure so long as the governour was on our party. But now they dare not show themselves, but are slipt from me with their captain. More I cannot advertise you at this time; but, as I shall have any further matter worthy the writing, I shall not fail to signify the same with such diligence as appertaineth. And thus, &c.

To the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, 25th October, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that I have received your letters of the 19th of this present, by the which I do perceive, that the king's majesty doth not only somewhat marvel that I would put myself in such hazard, as to abide here behind the earl of Angus, and the other lords of his majesty's party, when they departed out of this town westwards; but also that his highness's pleasure is, considering I can reside no where in more surety, nor where I may better serve for his majesty's affairs, nor where the said lords do remain, that I should therefore (if I might safely) repair unto the said earl, and signify unto him, that the king's majesty hath commanded me to resort to him, and therefore to require him to take order for my safe convoyance accordingly. For answer whereunto, I assure your lordships, it was much against my will to abide here behind the saids lords: For at their being here, I prayed them most heartily, that either I might go

with them westwards, or else that it would please my lord of Angus to lend me his house of Temptallon to ly in, and that I might be convoyed thither, afore their departure out of this town; but they thought it in no wise convenient for me to go with them. And though, as I could perceive, the earl of Angus had no great good will to let me ly in his house of Temptallon, because the same is unfurnished, and almost all the lodgings taken down to be new builded; yet at the last, rather than to take me with them westwards, he was content to lend me Temptallon. But he said, "I might not remove thither, while within five or six days after their departure out of this town; for the house could no sooner be ready for me." And I pressed them that I might go out of hand, which they bade me then keep secret; for there was a certain muttering in the town, that I should not depart till they had their ships restored. And they told me plainly, "That if the town would detain me, they were not able perforce, with the small company they had, to convoy me away but by stealth; whereupon," they said, "they would devise, and bade me keep secret."

As for my part, I kept it secret enough; but what secrecy they used I cannot tell; for the next day the provost, and a great many of the town, came to me, and said, "They understood I was afraid to tarry here behind the lords, which they were sorry to hear, and it should cost a thousand mens lives, or I, or any of mine, should suffer any displeasure;" with large offers of much humanity and gentleness; whereof I thanked them, and perswaded them to think, that it was for no fear that I desired to be out of this town, but for mine own recreation. But thus your lordships may perceive, that neither the lords, as I conjecture, nor yet the town, were willing that I should depart. Nevertheless my lord of Angus hath promised me, that his house of Temptallon should be made ready for me, and that his brother George, within four or five days, should come to me, to convoy me thither; whereof I heard nothing since their departure. But I sent a servant of mine to Temptallon, who brought me word, that the house was clearly unfurnished, both of bedding and all manner of houshold-stuff, and none

to be bought nor hired, nor no manner of provision to be made thereof, nor of any kind of victual nearer than this town, which is twenty miles off; so that I was fain to tarry here against my will: And yet if I had not fallen sick of a fever, whereof I am not yet recovered, I had made such shift, as, unless the town here would have stopped me, I had been at Temptallon or this time. And as soon as I am able to ride, I shall, with the grace of God, prepare myself thitherwards.

Yesternight the lord Maxwell, having been with the governour at Linlithgow for private causes of his own, came hither to me, to whom I declared, according to the continue of your said letters, that the king's majesty's pleasure was, to have me reside where the earl of Angus and they of his party were abiding; and therefore I prayed him to convoy me thither. He answered me, "That the earl of Angus lay at his castle of Douglas, and he and the rest of his majesty's friends lay every man at his own house, twenty, thirty, and forty miles one from another, and the country was so broken, and so much robbing and reaving, that he knew not where I might ly in surety, to be honestly furnished as appertained, except I might be lodged with the earl of Angus in his castle of Douglas; which, he thought, was not so well furnished as to lodge us both."* As indeed, for my part, I think he would be loath to be impesched with me and my folks, where he is scanty furnished for himself, his wife, and family. Nevertheless the said lord Maxwell hath promised to devise with the said earl of Angus, because Temptallon is out of the way, to lodge me where I shall be both in surety, and near to his majesty's friends; and this being determined, to convoy me thither accordingly.

The said lord Maxwell told me further, "That since the earl of Angus, the earl of Cassils, and the lord Somervail, parted out of this town, they, with the earls of Lennox and Glencairn, had been together at Glasgow, and had communed of some things, but concluded

* It may be recollected, as some apology for the *res angusta domi* which is here intimated, that Angus had but just returned from a long exile, during which his lands had been confiscated.

nothing. And the earl of Lennox," he saith, " desireth the marriage of the earl of Angus's daughter, and government of this realm; but he will not be induced," as the lord Maxwell saith, " to repair towards his majesty, till he shall know his highness's good mind towards him in the said marriage and government; for, if he should repair to the king's majesty," he saith, " he were sure to lose the French king, and all his benefits in France, which he will not do, till he may see what commodity or benefit he may receive at the king's majesty's hands. And therefore," the said lord Maxwell told me, " that they concluded upon nothing at their said convention at Glasgow, but are to meet again at Douglas castle with my lord of Angus at this day, where they will commune further upon all things; and," as he thinketh, " they will send the sheriff of Ayr, and the laird of Drumlanrig, to the king's majesty, with their minds, and to know his grace's pleasure in all things accordingly." Thus the lord Maxwell told me, adding further, " That he hath no great confidence in the earl of Lennox; for since their being together at Glasgow," he saith, " the same Lennox hath had sundry letters and messages from the dowager, cardinal, and Monsieur de la Brochey, the French ambassador, who remaineth with the queen at Stirling; and also the said Lennox hath been with them there himself; but it is thought that they agreed not all the best." What they should do, it is uncertain. And it is supposed, that the earl of Lennox will hold in on both sides, till he may assuredly know and perceive the king's majesty's good mind towards him in such things as he desireth. The French money (which at the most, for all their brags, is not past 30,000 crowns, as I am credibly informed) was addressed hither to the old queen and the cardinal, to be divided by their discretion amongst the noblemen of this realm. And notwithstanding that the earl of Lennox hath the money within the castle of Dumbarton, yet the French ambassador hath his bond and obligation, as the said lord Maxwell told me, for the delivery thereof to such as the said queen and cardinal shall appoint.

Also, I understand the said La Brochey hath commission to bestow yearly pensions amongst the noblemen here of the French king's liberality, and to make straiter and augment the amity and old leagues between France and Scotland, or to qualify the same, as for the chief commodity of this realm shall be thought most expedient. The legate, as far as I can hear, cometh here with bulls, faculties, and pardons, to get money. And some say, that, finding the people and country here so wild, he wisheth himself at home again; but now, as I am informed, the cardinal and he both are departed from Stirling, and be together within the castle of St Andrews. The governour lieth at Linlithgow, and, as it is thought, will be here in this town within these three or four days.

Finally, The towns-men here, nor their provost, have, as yet, made me no answer, touching the condition whereupon I promised them the restitution of their ships, according to the proportion of your lordships said letters of the 6th of this present, nor they come never to me since; but, as I am informed, they be greatly offended with that condition, and say, they will not only lose their ships and goods, without making any further suit of the same; but also they will lose their lives rather than grant that condition, and become traitors to their own country. This, I am secretly informed, they murmur among themselves; but, notwithstanding they promised to make me an answer what they would do in that behalf, they have hitherto made me none, nor I have not thought meet to press them to the same. And thus, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

John à Barton is not yet gone to the seas; but, it is told me, that as soon as the wind serveth, he will go with the Mary Willoughby, and nine sail more, half merchants and half men of war, as well furnished of men and artillery as any ships that went from Scotland those many years; being determined, as I am informed, to accomplish their voyage intended to Bourdeaux, or else to die rather than they will be

taken. And some say, that the said John à Barton will not go to the seas at all, unless he have the king's majesty's safe conduct; for obtaining whereof he hath lately made some means unto me, and likewise some other merchants here have made suit to me for safe conducts; assuring your lordships, that this town needeth none other wrack, than to have their traffique thus taken from them by keeping of the seas. So that if the king's majesty will appoint some of his ships of war to ly upon those coasts to hold in the Scots that they sail not out, within a little while it shall utterly beggar this town; for what with the loss of their ships and goods lately sustained, and again with the keeping of the seas with men of war, so that they dare not make any adventure, they do already complain exceedingly, &c.

To the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, 30th October, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that since my last letters addressed to your lordships, I have had no matter worthy the writing to advertise. But now be arrived at this town the lord Maxwell and the sheriff of Ayr, which have been with me, and told me, that they, with the earls of Angus, Glencarn, and Cassils, the lord Somervail and sir George Douglas, had been together, and kept their convention and meeting at Douglas-castle on Thursday last, according to their appointment; but the earl of Lennox broke his promise in that part, and came not there, which moved the said earls and lords to have no great trust nor confidence in him; for he hath been at Stirling with the queen, the cardinal, and French ambassador, and also he is in commission with them, appointed by the French king, for distribution of the French money and munition amongst the noblemen of this realm, and also to limit and bestow yearly pensions among them by their discretions. Howbeit the said Lennox sent to the earl of Angus, and others of that party, at their being together at Douglas, to excuse his absence, and to assure them, that he would perform all that

he had promised. But what he will do they cannot tell. Wherefore they have ordained the lord Somervail to repair in post to the king's majesty with their minds, and to know his majesty's mind again in all things accordingly. For which purpose, I think he will depart with all diligence, as your lordships will better perceive by such letters as he wrote unto me, which I send you here inclosed. The French ambassador, who remaineth still with the queen at Stirling, practiseth and laboureth by all the means he can, to interrupt the marriage between the young queen of Scotland and my lord prince's grace, and to won all noblemen here to the devotion of France, and to make division and extreme wars between those two realms; for the maintenance whereof, is promised by the said ambassador, on the French king's behalf, whatsoever aid they will require against the next year, besides great rewards and yearly pensions, as is aforesaid; which things the said dowager and cardinal do advance and set forth by all the means they can; and also they labour to set an unity and agreement between the governour and earl of Lennox, the rather to join them together on the French party. Assuring your lordships, that, as far as I can see, the whole body of the realm is inclined to France; for they do consider and say, that France requireth nothing of them but friendship, and would they should continue and maintain the honour and liberty of their realm, which of themselves they naturally do covet and desire. France, they say, hath always aided them with money and munition, as now they have promised more largely by that which they have brought. Whereas, on the other side, England, they say, seeketh nothing else but to bring them to subjection, and to have superiority and dominion over them; which universally they do so detest and abhor, as, in my poor opinion, they will never be brought into it but by force. And though such noblemen as pretend to be the king's majesty's friends here, could be contented, as they say, that his majesty had the superiority of this realm; yet, I assure your lordships, to say as I think, there is not one of them that hath two servants or friends that is of the same mind, or that would take their parts in that behalf. Marry

I think, when they shall perceive themselves unable to resist the king's majesty's power, very fear (which I call force) shall enforce them to yield to that thing, which they will never do, if they shall find themselves able to make their part good.

Thus I have thought good to signify unto your lordships what I do now by continuance here perceive of the affection of this nation; which your lordships can much better weigh and consider than I, and, with the grace of God, thereafter provide for it. Finally, The provost, and sundry other merchants of this town, yesterday came unto me, and said, they understood that the lord Somervail was now appointed to depart towards the king's majesty, wherefore they intended also to send some honest personage to his grace to sue on their behalfs for the restitution of their ships, praying me to write in their favours. And I put them in remembrance what I had said to them before on the king's majesty's behalf, and upon what condition his majesty will restore unto them their saids ships and goods; whereunto, I told them, they had promised to make me answer, which, I said, I daily looked for. They told me, that the man, whom they would now dispatch to the king's majesty with their letters and requests, should have also credit and commission from them to declare unto his highness their mind and resolution in that behalf; and they desired of me that I would write favourably for them. I said, I would be glad to do them all the pleasure I could, as now I beseech your lordships to be good unto them in their reasonable suits; the rather for that I have found much gratuity at their hands ever since his majesty wrote unto them, which it may please you to consider accordingly.

Sir George Douglas being at Leith, sent to me, and desired me to take mine horse and ride out of this town into the fields to speak with him, which I did; and at our meeting, he told me as much in effect touching the earl of Lennox and the French practices, as is before specified, and also of the dispatch of the lord Somervail to the king's majesty, saying "that he will accompany the said lord Somervail to Darlington, because himself will speak with my lord of Suffolk, both

touching such things as the said lord Somervail hath in charge, as also for the Border matters, wherein he complaineth much of the damage done daily to such as," he saith, " be the king's majesty's friends."* He told me also, " that the dowager and cardinal intended to send the Lyon, being one of the late king of Scots ships, into France, with a special dispatch thither; for she is now a rigging for that purpose, but will not yet be ready to depart. And," he saith, " he will advertise me assuredly when she shall depart, to the intent I may give knowledge thereof in time, if it shall please the king's majesty to take order for her apprehension." And also, he said, " that the French ships which brought hither this money and munition, might easily be apprehended, if his majesty would send some of his ships for that purpose into the west seas here. The said French ships," he telleth me, " do ly upon the coast afore Dumbarton, two or three miles into the seas. They be in number seven, and the greatest of them not past nine score, or two hundred, which, notwithstanding they have landed the legate and the ambassador with the money and munition, yet," he saith, " the ships, men, and artillery, that is in them, were a good booty; and he thinketh, if the king's majesty would send his own navy into the west seas here unto Dumbarton for the apprehension of them, he might surely have them."

Furthermore, the said sir George Douglas told me, " That his brother the earl of Angus and he had devised upon my removing out of this town, and could find no place so meet and proper for me as Temptallon; for in the west parts of this realm I could be no where lodged but in an open town, where I might not remain in surety, the country being so broken as it is, and yet I should be twenty miles from my lord of Angus, and as far, or farther, from the rest of his majesty's friends. And at Temptallon," he saith, " I shall be in surety, and

* In the correspondence between the council and sir Ralph Evers, which may be found in Hayne's State Papers, strict orders are given not to spare the friends of sir George Douglas in the incursions on the middle and east marches, as it was suspected that he only meant to strengthen and secure himself without affording effectual assistance to England.

within twelve miles of him where he lieth; and also, in forty-eight hours, I may always send, and have word again from my lord of Angus; and as the case shall require," he saith, "we may meet and commune together from time to time, by appointment, upon such things as shall occur." So that he hath resolved with me, that I shall go to Temptallon as soon as the house can be furnished and made ready for me; which I shall do with the grace of God, who preserve your lordships, &c.

*To the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, 6th November, 1543, from Temptallon.**

It may like your good lordships to understand, that yesterday, as I was to depart out of Edinburgh to this house of Temptallon, arrived with me one Sanford, a kinsman of Mr Wharton's, and brought me your letters of the 27th of October, with also a copy of your letters to Mr Wharton. Upon the contents whereof the said Sanford told me, "that he, and one Appleby, being sent by Mr Wharton, had, according to their instructions, not finding me with the earl of Angus, conferred with the said earl only, because none of the other lords were with him, and such answer as the said earl made unto him, he would dispatch forthwith by the said Appleby, not doubting but your lord-

* Tantallon, or Temptallon castle, a place of proverbial strength, is situated about two miles from North Berwick, in East Lothian, on a cliff overhanging the sea. Its ruins shew its extent and consequence. When Tantallon was built is uncertain; but it seems always to have been a strong-hold of the Douglas family. When James V. expelled from his kingdom the earl of Angus and his friends, Tantallon held out against his arms for some time; and was not reduced till Angus, who had fled into England, was only admitted there upon condition of that castle being rendered. Upon the return of Angus, and the recal of his forfeiture, Tantallon was again occupied by his retainers, and now served for a place of refuge to Sadler, after his joyful release from his precarious situation in Edinburgh. The circumstances of Angus, so lately an exile and fugitive, must make some apology for the miserable accommodation afforded to the English ambassador.

ships shall receive the same before the arrival of those my letters. And what the said earl of Angus, and other the king's majesty's friends, will do, upon the apprehension of the lords Maxwell and Somervail, which ought to move and stir them (if they be able) to revenge it, I cannot tell. But afore, they told me plainly, that they were not able to do such things as the king's majesty required of them, neither to apprehend the governour nor the cardinal, nor yet to get the young queen into their hands. Assuring your lordships, that, as far as I can perceive now, they have enough ado to save themselves out of the danger of their enemies, and much less be they able to seek their adverse party within their bounds and strengths, as also I think the adverse party unable to seek them within their bounds and strengths : and in the field ye may be sure they will never meet ; at least, for my part, I think they may well discord and chide, but I will never believe that they will fight, till I see it, what brags soever they make upon the same. And surely, my lords, to say mine opinion, if it shall please God to send his majesty the accomplishment of his gracious and godly purposes here, it must proceed, first, with the will and pleasure of God, and then with the king's majesty's own force and power ; for here there is none aid of these men wherein I would wish his majesty should trust : For though the earl of Angus, and the rest of that side, be all well dedicate to the king's majesty, as they pretend ; yet, considering the malice of this nation towards England, which they would in no wise should have any superiority or dominion over them ; I see not, that the said earls, and others of that side, can be sure almost of their own servants in that quarrel.* So that, I think, it must be the fear of the king's majesty's force which must make them yield to that, which they would never do, if they could find themselves able to resist it. This I have touched afore to your lordships, and now write it

* This was probably the reason of their extreme reluctance to allow sir Ralph to go with them to the western counties, where they purposed to collect their followers. His presence would have been odious even to their own retainers.

again ; because whosoever had continued here in my place so long as I have been here, though he had but half an eye, might easily see it. The lord Somervail is removed out of the castle of Edinburgh to the Blackness, and the lord Maxwell remaineth still, who, some men think, was taken by his own consent ; which, if it be true, declareth him a most unfaithfull man ; and though it be not true, yet both he and Somervail used much folly to put themselves in such danger, as to come so slenderly furnished within the bounds and strength of their enemies. For the castle of Edinburgh is in the governour's hands, and the town also, say what they will, is wholly at the cardinal's devotion. Whether the earl of Angus, and others of that party, will send any other to the king's majesty in place of the lord Somervail or not, I cannot tell. But sir George Douglas hath sent me word, " that he will forthwith repair to Darlington to my lord of Suffolk, to advertise him of all such things as the said lord Somervail had in charge, to the intent he may signify the same to the king's highness accordingly." The parliament is appointed at Edinburgh by the governour and that side, to begin in the beginning of December, which the earl of Angus and his side mindeth to impeach, as they say, by all the means they can ; and, as far as I can perceive, the earl of Lennox is revolted from the earl of Angus, by the great perswasions of the dowager and the cardinal, who do labour by all the means they can to make him and the governour friends. And it is said, to please them both, the governour shall continue still in that place, and the earl of Lennox shall be made lieutenant-general throughout the whole realm ; which, it is thought, shall be established at their parliament. But what shall follow, God knoweth. As I shall perceive things to occur worthy advertisement, I shall not fail to signify the same with such diligence as the case shall require.

The captain of this castle of Temptallon, who being yesterday with me at Edinburgh, and tarried there behind me for certain business, came hither this morning, and told me, that the governour, cardinal, and earl Bothwell, came yesternight to Edinburgh ; as indeed the go-

vernour hath been coming thither those ten or twelve days; and, as I was informed credibly, deferred and put of his coming because I was in the town, as now it appeareth to be true: For as soon as I was departed yesterday from thence, their officers came thither to make provision for them.

Finally, whereas I perceive that the king's majesty would have me resident where the earl of Angus and other lords of that party be; it is told me, that it is not possible for me to be among them; for in their houses I cannot be, the same being so evil furnished as scarcely doth serve themselves, and no town is near them where I may either be in surety, or have any honest kind of furniture. Wherefore, I am desired to remain here at Temptallon; which, though it be but easily furnished, and slender lodging in it, yet I assure you it is of such strength, as I need not fear the malice of mine enemies; and therefore do think myself now to be out of danger.

To my Lords of SUFFOLK and DURHAM, 7th November, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that this morning I received a letter from the laird of Brunstoun, the copy whereof I have sent you in cypher here inclosed; by the which ye may perceive what game is now like to begin in this country, and what is to be looked for at our enemies hands. And, to verify the said Brunstoun's letter, I have also this morning credible advertisement, that the governour hath this night taken the castle of Dalkeith, belonging to the earl of Morton, who is a Douglas; and sir George Douglas's son, who is heir to the earl of Morton, being in the castle, got himself into a dungeon of the same castle, where he yet is, and keepeth the same dungeon against the governour.* But without rescues he cannot long hold it;

* This is the first exploit of the famous earl of Morton, afterwards regent. It seems not to have been known to his biographer Godscroft. Dalkeith castle, into the *donjon*, or principal tower of which, he now retreated, afterwards, from being his chief residence, was called the Lion's Den.

for he is unfurnished both of victuals and artillery. And also, I am informed, that the cardinal hath said plainly, that it shall cost him life, but he will drive all the Douglasses, with their friends and partakers, out of this realm, or destroy them. It is also told me, that the governour and cardinal have devised to beset and stop all the ways and passages to and from the house of Temptallon, because no letters or messengers shall come or go from me unsearched; and therefore I doubt much, whether this letter, or any other that I shall write, shall be safely convoyed. I shall, nevertheless, adventure the interception of my letters, which, being in cypher, can give them little advantage. And as I may have matter worth the writing, and commodity of Scottish bearers, I will write from time to time accordingly, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

Oliver Sinclair* lieth at a little house, within two miles here of Temptallon, with threescore horsemen, as I am informed, to ly in wait to catch up me or some of my servants, if we stray too far out of the bounds of this castle; which, if he should do, he thinketh he should be the better able to redeem his pledge, and pay his ransom to the king's majesty; whereof I am credibly informed by honest gentlemen, being my lord of Angus's kinsmen and servants, which dwell hereabouts, and came purposely to me to give me warning of the same, praying me that I would not walk, nor suffer none of mine to go too far out of the bounds of the castle.

* When the earl of Angus, his friends, and followers, were banished by James V. Oliver Sinclair was placed as governor in Temptallon castle.

To my Lords of SUFFOLK and DURHAM, 8th November, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that I have received your letters of the 4th of November; by the which ye require me to advertise you what succeedeth of the taking of the lords Maxwell and Somervail, and also where sir George Douglas is, not doubting but by such letters as I have lately written, since my coming hither, to the lords of the council above, of the 6th of November, and also by such as I have written to your lordships of the 7th of the same, ye do perceive as much as I can yet advertise of those affairs. And, as I am advertised, sir George Douglas was at Berwick on Tuesday last; and therefore I think, or this time, he is with your lordships. Also, this morning I am credibly advertised, that the governour sent a good number of men to besiege a house of sir George Douglas's, called Pinky; and as yet, as far as I can hear, the said sir George Douglas's son holdeth the dungeon of the castle of Dalkeith against the governour.* And it is said, that James Douglas of the Parkhedge, and Alexander Drummond, which be two hardy gentlemen belonging to the earl of Angus and sir George Douglas, be also within the said dungeon. Assuring your lordships, that if they were furnished with artillery, they would soon beat their enemies from the siege, or if they have victual, it is thought they will defend the said dungeon till they may have rescue of their friends: but still they are besieged, and daily the country about resorteth to the siege by the governour's command-

† Sir George Douglas of Pittendriech had two sons; David, who succeeded his uncle as eighth earl of Angus, and James, who became earl of Morton and regent of Scotland. David was inactive in his habits, and sickly in his person; but James had all the ambition and talent of the great family whence he sprung. It was he that defended the *donjon*, or great tower, of Dalkeith against the governor. In the next letter he is called master of Morton; a title given him in right of his wife, who was daughter of the earl of Morton.

James Douglas of Parkhedge (Parkhead), mentioned a little lower, was an illegitimate son of sir George Douglas, and a brother consequently of Morton.

ment. I can yet hear nothing what the earl of Angus intendeth to do, saving that he, with the earl of Cassils and Glencairn, and the sheriff of Ayr, were assembled to devise how to proceed to the revenge of these injuries done to their friends. And what shall succeed thereof, and all other things here, as I can get knowledge, I will advertise accordingly, &c.

To my Lords of SUFFOLK and DURHAM, 10th November, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that yesterday, in the morning, came hither to Temptallon the master of Morton, sir George Douglas's son, who told me, "That he had rendred the castle of Dalkeith to the governour by appointment, conditionally that he and all his friends within the house might remove and depart, with all their goods and baggage safely untouched; which," he saith, "he was of force constrained to do, because he was utterly unfurnished both of victuals and artillery wherewith to defend the castle. And after he had rendred it," he saith, "he had communication with the governour, who wished that the earl of Angus and his brother would be true Scottish-men, and leave their affection to England, in which case he would do for them, and esteem them above all the rest of the noblemen in Scotland." And the said master of Morton answering, "That he knew well they had never failed in their duty of allegiance to their sovereign lady; and so long as they did nothing prejudicial to the realm, nor against the weal of the same, he thought they could not be enemies to England, having received such benefit as they had done at the king's majesty's hands." The governour replied, "That he would all the world were enemies to England, for he knew well he was the man the king's majesty loved worst of all men alive." Whereunto the master of Morton saith he answered, "That if so was, he was himself the cause thereof; for of late he knew that the king's majesty loved and esteemed him as well as he did any nobleman in Scotland; and if

he had observed his faith and promise to the king's majesty, he might have been sure to have had both his favour, and also great honour by the same." The governour replied again, and said, " the king's majesty had broken with them first, in taking of their merchant ships and goods in the time of peace, and therefore he might justly break with him again." Then he told the said master of Morton, " how the earls of Angus, Cassils, and Glencairn, the lord Maxwell, sir George Douglas, and the sheriff of Ayr, had dispatched the lord Somervail with letters and writings to the king's majesty ; which letters, he said, were intercepted with the said lord Somervail, being about him when he was taken, and do contain no less than high treason ; for that by the same it may appear, that the said earls and lords intended to practise with the king's majesty to the great mischief and confusion of this realm. And besides that," he said, " there was certain credence in the said letters committed to the lord Somervail, which he would gladly know ; but he could in no wise cause the said lord Somervail confess the same." This communication, in effect, the said master of Morton told me that he had with the governour ; " who," he saith, " is, by the perswasions of the cardinal, earnestly bent against England, and will, if he can, destroy and put down all such noblemen and others within the realm as do favour the same." Also, I am informed, that they have taken sir George Douglas's house of Pinky, and the abbot of Dunfermling hath the possession of the same.

I hear nothing yet what the earl of Angus and his partakers will do ; nor yet can I learn certainly what part the earl of Lennox will adhere unto : but there is a saying, that the governour and he will not be both of one party ; and yet much labour is made to make them friends. And it is said, that the cardinal hath devised to divorce the governour from his wife, to the intent to make a marriage betwixt him and the dowager, and then also to make a contract betwixt the young queen and the earl of Lennox, who shall be made lieutenant-general of Scotland, and use the authority ; and the governour shall bear only the name of that office, and have a certain yearly stipend for the same ;

and so they shall be friends, and join together on one party with France against England. Such sayings I hear, which whether they be true or not I cannot tell; but sure I am, that the cardinal and the dowager would gladly make the said governour and Lennox friends, and also procure as many friends as they can to adhere to the French party. Whereof as I shall hear further, and what shall succeed of all this business, I will advertise as I may have commodity of bearers.

Finally, the laird of Brunstoun sent me word, "that he would gladly have come hither to me, but he durst not for fear of suspicion." And also he sent me word, "that he thought, if it might please the king's majesty, to extend a piece of his liberality to the sheriff of Ayr, who may and will do his majesty good service, it should not be amiss bestowed." And he prayed me to remember the same when I wrote next to court, &c.

To the Earl of ARRAN, 11th November, 1543.

MY LORD,

I have received your letters of the 10th of November, perceiving by the same, that ye understand I daily receive and direct writings privately to and from sundry great and small men within this realm, and send thereupon advertisement to the king's majesty, being both very suspicious and hurtfull to the commonwealth of the same, now standing the wars between both realms, and is of such weight and importance as may not be permitted. Wherefore, your desire is, if my commission do continue, that I address me unto you, to declare my charge, and receive my answer thereupon; or else if the same be expired, ye say, ye are constrained, by my strange behaviour and practices, to pray and also charge me to depart forth of this realm with diligence. For answer whereunto, it may like you to be advertised, that whatsoever ye understand of my strange behaviour and practices, the truth is, I know the same to be such as

from no part of mine of-

fice, nor yet have I received or written any other letters to or from any great or small men within this realm, than I would your lordship and whole realm were privy unto. And touching my commission, the same endureth till it shall please the king's majesty to revoke me. And also, standing such division in this realm, and such changes and alterations as I daily see chancing amongst you, I know not to whom I may repair, either to declare the king's majesty's mind, or to receive mine answer upon the same, till I shall know his majesty's pleasure; which known, I shall not fail to address myself for the execution thereof accordingly. And thus the Lord have you in his keeping. From Temptallon, the 11th of November.

Your lordship's,

RALPH SADLER.

To the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, 13th November, 1543.

It may like your good lordships to understand, that yesterday the laird of Brunstoun came hither to me, and told me, "that the governour, by the procurement and instigation of the cardinal, is utterly determined to have the wars in England; for the maintenance whereof is promised unto them by La Brochey, the French ambassador here, that they shall have six thousand soldiers out of Denmark, in the French king's wages, which shall be set on land in England or Scotland, as the said governour and cardinal shall appoint; and also, that they shall have money of the said French king to wage ten thousand Scottishmen, with all the aid and help both by sea and land that they will desire; which maketh them so high and so proud, that," as the said Brunstoun told me, "the cardinal said unto him, that the king's majesty should not have that honour to begin the wars with them, for they would begin the same to his hands. And all such as were his majesty's friends here, as the earl of Angus and all the Douglasses, the earls of Glencairn and Cassils, the sheriff of Ayr, and the laird of Drumlan-

rig, with all their partakers, the said governour and cardinal said to Brunstoun, they should either be chased out of this realm into England, or put into holds, or else they should fight for it or it be long."

Also, the said Brunstoun told me, "That the governour was very extreme against the lord Somervail, because he would not confess what credence he had to the king's majesty from the earl of Angus and other lords of that party, now when he was appointed by them to go into England, insomuch," as the said Brunstoun thinketh, "they will put the said lord Somervail unto tortures to make him confess his said credence." And because here was a saying, that the lord Maxwell should be taken with his own will and consent, the said Brunstoun telleth me, "that he enquired the same at the governour, who affirmed and sware that it was not so; and that the said lord Maxwell was undoubtedly taken against his will, and had no knowledge before of the same, as he trusted to have more of them ere it were long."

Furthermore, the said Brunstoun told me, "that since the sheriff of Ayr sticketh so fast to his majesty's party here, and can do good service, it should be well done for me to write in his favours, for he wanteth money;" as, I think, so do all the rest of his highness's friends here, or else I trow they would not sit so still, being their friends daily pursued by the adverse party. Likewise, he prayed me to advertise, that John à Barton, who is esteemed a principal man of the town of Leith, is much dedicate to the king's majesty, and having certain goods in France, he was minded to have gone thither with five or six ships, whereof he thinketh the Mary Willoughby is one, which he hath had long in readiness for that purpose. But the said Brunstoun told me, that by his advice and counsel the said John à Barton tarrieth himself at home, and hath sent forth the said ships to pass into France for his said goods, which, if he once had at home, the said Brunstoun saith, he would no more use any trade that way, but altogether into England.

Finally, the said Brunstoun told me, that he would write himself to the king's majesty both in that behalf, and also of such news and

occurents as be here, and also dispatch an messenger to his highness with the same by post.

The governour and cardinal are now gone over the water of Forth into Fife and Angus, as it is thought, to do some exploit on the north-land lords, as the earl of Rothes, the lords Gray, Ogilvy, and Glamis; and if they can, either by force or policy, to win and reconcile the said lords from the devotion of the earl of Angus, which some men think will be hard to do; and yet men do marvel much that the earl of Angus doth sit so still and suffer, which is a mean to encourage his enemies, and cause his friends fall from him. Assuring your lordships, that the cause of his still sitting with the rest of his majesty's friends, as far as I can see, is only lack of money; who, if they had money, might wage men enough to take their parts in their own private quarrels. Wherefore, I would wish the king's majesty, having been already at some charges with them, to bestow a little more amongst them; and if they may be forced to try the matter, and debate it by the sword among themselves, they shall be the more easy for us to deal withall the next year, which I doubt not your lordships will consider as appertaineth, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

Whereas the governour hath lately given me charge, either to repair unto him to receive mine answer, or else to depart this realm with diligence, as by his letters, which I sent unto the king's majesty, may appear; I have thought good to remember your lordships, that if it shall please his majesty thereupon to appoint me any charge or commission wherewith to repair to the governour, your lordships may be sure, that when I shall be once within his bounds, he will not suffer me to return again to this castle of Temptallon, but rather will dispatch me the next way into England. Wherefore, if the king's majesty shall have dispatched any other commission to me in that behalf, before these letters arrive with your lordships, I intend to forbear the execution of the same till I shall have further answer. Assuring your

lordships, that the said governour is much offended with my being here ; and undoubtedly the earl of Angus hath lost many hearts in this realm for the same ; and it is universally spoken, that he hath rendred his house to the English-men, for the which they do much detest him. Such is the malice of this nation towards English-men. Nevertheless, I may remain here in this house in surety, maugre the governour and all his partakers, as long as shall please the king's majesty. And though the passage by land be stopped, his highness may send hither by sea, maugre all Scotland, the earl of Angus being our friend, as undoubtedly I think him to be, &c.

To my Lord of ANGUS, 15th November, 1543.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

After my most hearty commendations, I have received your writings by your servant John Douglas, and do right well perceive by the same your intent and towardness to show yourself like a man of honour in this busy time, not doubting but God will give you the upper hand of your adverse party. And before the receipt of your said letters, I had written to the king's majesty as much in effect as your lordship desired, and now have written again, looking for answer shortly, according to your own request. Signifying further unto your lordship, that the governour, on Sunday last, sent an herauld unto me with letters, charging me either to repair to him to receive mine answer, or else to depart this realm. Whereby ye may perceive, that he would fain have me at home, and yet not so fain as I would myself, if it so please the king's majesty. But so long as it is his highness's pleasure to have me remain in this country, your lordship being my good lord, I may well sit and abide an charge more of the governour, having so good a house over my head as this is, where I think neither he nor the cardinal will seek me to do me any great displeasure for disobeying of their charge. And thus, &c.

From the Laird of BRUNSTOUN to Sir RALPH SADLER, 16th November,
1543.*

MY LORD,

After my most hearty commendations, this present shall be to excuse me to your lordship, that I have been so long unwriting to your lordship ; for the time is so dangerous, that I may not at all times as I would. Wherefore, I pray your lordship in like case, that I may be excused to the king's majesty, and to thank his highness, on my behalf, of his gentle letter, which it hath pleased his highness to send to me ; the contents whereof I shall not fail to fulfil so far as God will give me grace. Howbeit, as your lordship knows, I cannot get letters carried so oft as I would ; nevertheless your lordship shall perceive, that I shall lack no good will. With such conclusions as are made in this parliament, I shall write his grace an answer of his grace's letter. And as concerning John à Barton, as I shew your lordship, I have caused him remain at home, as I have written already to his highness : I will answer upon mine honour, that there shall be no man in Scotland more desirous to further his majesty's godly purpose than he shall be. His ships have been divers times on the sea, and by contrary winds are ay returned, and as yet are in readiness to depart. And to the effect that none of his ships stir of the king's lieges in their way, I cause this servant of mine, bearer hereof, to pass with them. Wherefore it will please your lordship to be so good lord to him, as to let him have a letter of your lordship, that in case he go a-land in any part for refreshing of victuals, that no man do him harm, and that they be used as the king's majesty's friends and servants. There is no novels here

* Crichton, laird of Brunstoun, was a keen reformer, and consequently a friend to the English interest. He is mentioned frequently in Knox's history, particularly as narrowly escaping from the cardinal's soldiers, when the famous George Wishart was made prisoner.

to write to your lordship for the present, but such as I have given this bearer in charge to shew to your lordship. It is believed that my lord of Angus will come in to the parliament, and sends the sheriff of Ayr and laird of Drumlanrig (which are looked for this Saturday) to dress his way. The earl Bothwell and the bishop of Murray have been this Friday in the castle, and hath spoken with the lord Maxwell, and I am afraid that, by his means, they draw in my lord of Angus, by George : Wherefore, I think good it were, that ye advertised George, and in like case that he take better heed to himself than he doth where he is now ; for they will do him displeasure, if they can, through the lord Home. I wot your lordship knoweth how they intend to summon him for treason, which I suppose shall be a great part of it that shall be done at this parliament, if they make not four regents as was before. I will not trouble your lordship with a longer letter : The bearer will shew your lordship all other things at more length, to whom it will please your lordship to give credence. If there be any pleasure or service your lordship would I did, let me know, and it shall be done at the uttermost of my power, as knoweth God, who mot have your lordship in his keeping. From Musselburgh, this Saturday in the morning, by your lordship's assured friend and servant.

POSTSCRIPT.

Praying your lordship, if ye have any novels of late, to let me know some of them by this bearer, and to have me heartily recommended to Mr Aevery. Good it is that your lordship be circumspect in sending of letters, for the ways are straitly kept. When your lordship hath seen these other letters, close them within another letter, and send me them again.

To the King's Majesty, 16th November, 1543.

Please it your royal majesty to understand, that where it pleased the same to commend this bearer, Mr Richardson, unto the governour here, who, before his revolt from your majesty, the rather for your majesty's commendation, was content to accept and receive him, and also maintained him and others in the setting forth and true preaching of the word of God, which the said Mr Richardson hath done very honestly and diligently according to his vocation, so long as he might be permitted and suffered to do the same. Forasmuch now as the said governour, who was before a supporter of good preachers, and seemed desirous to advance the true doctrine of Christ, is now (through the counsel and perswasion of the cardinal, for whom he hath forsaken both God and man) become a persecutor of the same ; * the said Mr Richardson is therefore forced to fly this country for fear of persecution ; the cardinal's malice, which now reigneth, being such towards him, (not only for his preaching, but also for his zeal and affection to-England,) as the poor man is not able to abide the same here without danger of his life. Wherefore he hath required me to commend him again unto your majesty, which I could not refuse, the rather for that I know him to be sincerely addict to your majesty, and most willing to serve the same, as in some things I have proved him here ; and surely have found him both faithfull and diligent, and most desirous,

* When the governour reconciled himself with the cardinal, he abjured the doctrines of the Reformation, and banished the preachers whom he had formerly countenanced and maintained near his person. This Richardson seems to be the person formerly called sir Robert Richardson : this title given to priests was renounced by such of them as became reformers. Moll, a Scottish priest, who was converted to the reformed doctrines, at his trial for heresy, refused the title of sir Walter, saying, he had been one of the pope's knights over long.

after his power, to do whatsoever might tend to the pleasure and contentation of your majesty. And thus, &c.

To Sir RALPH SADLER, 18th November, 1543.

Right honourable and my very good lord, after my most hearty commendations, please it your lordship, I am stopped in my purpose in my coming to Edinburgh at this time, by my great friends advice, the which we will supersede as yet for further reasons, as I am counselled to; and hereafter, as shortly as I may, ye shall know all my whole purpose and mind in all our proceedings: not doubting but ye know my brother's whole mind and purpose in all affairs, as knoweth God, who have you in his keeping. At Douglas, the 18th of November, by your assured friend,

ARCHIBALD, EARL OF ANGUS.

To the King's Majesty, 26th November, 1543.

Please it your royal majesty to understand, that I have received certain advertisements from the laird of Brunstoun, who sheweth himself most desirous to do such service as might be acceptable to your majesty; and, except there be no truth in Scottishmen, undoubtedly mindeth the same in his heart to the uttermost of his power. Which said advertisement I send unto your majesty in cypher, here inclosed, as the said laird of Brunstoun required me to do, to the intent your highness might thereby perceive both his good will and diligence to advertise your majesty of the occurrents here; and also, how the governour and cardinal do proceed against your majesty's friends here, wherein now they triumph, and let not to take their opportunity as the time serveth them, in such sort as your majesty shall perceive by the said

laird of Brunstoun's advertisements. And whatsoever it shall please your majesty to command me thereupon, I shall most willingly accomplish the same according to my most bounden duty, as knoweth the Lord, who, &c.

To my Lord of SUFFOLK, 29th November, 1543.

Please it your grace to understand, that yesternight I received a letter from Berwick, from my servant Walter Brage, whom I lately sent unto your grace for money. By the which letter, I perceive that ye willed him to declare unto me, that the king's majesty's pleasure is, I should forthwith repair to my lord of Angus, and the rest of the lords his highness's friends, wheresoever they do ly, to the intent to remain always where they be, for the better service of the king's majesty. For answer whereunto, I assure your grace, there is no man living that shall with better will do that thing, whereby his grace may be best served, than I shall, whereunto I am most bounden ; but this country standing in such terms as it doth, I am not able to do his majesty the service here that my poor heart would. And as to repair forthwith to my lord of Angus, and the other lords the king's majesty's friends, and to remain with them wheresoever they ly ; it is not possible for me to be with them all, for they are not all together, but twenty and thirty miles sundry one from another. And as the country is broken, I cannot travel through the same towards them in surety, and forthwith I cannot go for lack of conduct : assuring your grace, that being this country in such garboil as it is, I would be loath to adventure to go to my lord of Angus, with any conduct that he would appoint me, unless the king's pleasure be that I shall so do. And furthermore, I am credibly advertised, that there is no place for me to ly in near the earl of Angus, or any of the rest of his majesty's friends, by sixteen or twenty miles ; and yet the same must be in an open town, where I must be amongst such a malicious sort of people, to my no little danger, as, so

God help me, I had lever be among the Turks ; for in my lord of Angus's house, where he is, I cannot be, being the same (as I am credibly informed) in such ruin, as he hath there scant one chamber for himself and my lady his wife. And likewise my lords of Cassils and Glencairn, which dwell twenty miles asunder, and almost thirty miles from my lord of Angus, be not so well housed as they can spare me any lodging.

Finally, if my said lord of Angus, and the other lords his majesty's friends should, as it is thought they will shortly repair to Edinburgh or to Leith, now at the parliament time, then should I be nearer unto them here at Temptallon than where they now be, unless I should be a rider with them up and down the country, like a man of war, as they do ; which, for my part, I could be well content to do ; but, in my poor opinion, it were not expedient ; for I assure your grace, if I should so do, it should not only be dangerous to me but also to them ; for it would make the whole realm to detest them, and cause their whole friends to leave and forsake them, as undoubtedly many of their friends do already slip from them, only because they be noted good Englishmen. And my lord of Angus is principally hated, because I do ly here in his castle of Temptallon : So that, as far as I can perceive yet, for any thing that they do hitherto, both my lord of Angus and the rest of his majesty's friends, shall have enough ado to keep themselves out of the danger of their enemies, which daily do catch up some of them, as they may come by them.

Thus have I thought good to signify unto your grace, which it may please you, if ye so think good, to advertise unto the court, to be there considered. And whatsoever shall be the king's majesty's pleasure that I shall do thereupon, I shall not fail to accomplish the same to the uttermost of my power, according to my most bounden duty. And thus, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

I have received a letter from the earl of Angus, the copy whereof I have sent you in cypher, here inclosed. And I would wish, that if the said earl will, like a man, step in time to the revenge of the injuries which the governour, by the instigation and procurement of the cardinal, hath now done to the said earl and his friends, that in that case he should not lack the king's majesty's aid and assistance to the same; without the which, surely he, with the rest of his majesty's friends, shall scant be able to resist the malice of the adverse party; for the governour hath three hundred men in wages, found unto him by the kirk men, besides his own band; and all the great men of that party ready to assist him at all times with their powers, wherewithall ye may be sure the clergy will bear also to the uttermost of their powers. And the hope which they have of the aid that is promised by the French ambassador here, to come unto them out of France, hath made them so high, that they seem little to esteem the force of the king's majesty. And, first, they have begun with his majesty's friends here, intending, if they can, to destroy them; as surely I think, without the king's majesty's help, they will be put to a great afterdale.

And, touching my lord Somervail's son and heir, a second son of the same lord Somervail hath been with me since his father was taken, and desired, that I would find the means to get home his brother to revenge his father's apprehension, &c.

To my Lord of SUFFOLK, 12th December, 1543, from Berwick.

Please it your grace to understand, that on Saturday night last I received your grace's letters containing my revocation, and such other letters and copies in cypher as your grace addressed unto me with the same. And also I received at the same instant a letter from Mr Dou-

glas, making mention, that whatsoever day I would appoint him, he would come to me to Temptallon, and convoy me surely to this town of Berwick; as indeed, according to mine appointment, he came yesterday to me, with an honest company of gentlemen and their trains, to the number of four hundred horses or thereabouts, and hath very friendly, this day, brought me hither in safety.

Likewise, came yesterday to me James Douglas of the Parkhedge from my lords of Angus, Cassils, and Glencairn, with letters of credence from them, both to the said sir George and also to me. And, for his credence, he declared unto us, "that the saids earls of Angus, Cassils, and Glencairn, the master of Maxwell, the sheriff of Ayr, and the laird of Drumlanrig, were now once again assembled together at Douglas, and have devised among themselves how to proceed against their enemies, to do them all the annoyance they can devise: wherein," the said James declareth, "that the earl of Lennox will assuredly join with them. And also," he saith, "that the earls of Argyle and Murray have partly promised to join with them; for both the same earls, and also some other barons of the realm, seem to be greatly offended with the governour and cardinal, for the apprehension and detaining in ward of such ancient barons as they have lately taken, without calling them to their trial; and specially because they were taken only by the advice and procurement of the cardinal, without the counsel and consent of the noblemen of the realm." So that it is thought that they agree not all the best at this parliament, the assembly and number whereof consisteth chiefly in the kirk-men; and, as is afore-said, the said James Douglas declareth, "that the said earls of Angus, Glencairn, and Cassils, do believe verily, that the said earls of Argyle and Murray will fall from the governour, and adhere to them." For the which purpose, there was an appointment of a meeting yesterday betwixt the same earls of Argyle and Murray, and the earl of Cassils and sheriff of Ayr, but how they have agreed I cannot tell: And in case they do agree and join all together, they have determined, as the

said James saith, to extend their power to the deprivation of the governour, and putting down of the cardinal, and will chuse the earls of Angus, Lennox, Huntley, and Argyle, to be four regents of the realm. And in case the said earls of Argyle and Murray will not be induced to their devotion, they will nevertheless use forthwith all their force and power to the annoyance of their enemies; intending to take into their hands, for the beginning, the abbot of Paisley, and to burn the governour's town of Hamilton; and to seek all other ways and means they can to be revenged upon such injuries as the governour and cardinal hath lately done unto them and their friends, trusting to assemble such force and power as they shall be able to be masters of the fields. For the execution whereof, they say, they want nothing but money, which is the chief instrument they must work withall; and therefore, they have sent the said James Douglas to the said sir George for the money which was sent to this town for that purpose; and also they have written a letter to your grace, which I send inclosed in this packet. Wherefore the said sir George Douglas desireth your grace to advertise your pleasure, whether the money shall be sent to them, and how the same shall be distributed, which requireth speed; for till they have money, they can do little or nothing but defend themselves. And if they will do as they say and promise, I would wish they should want no aid of the king's majesty. And, finally, the said James Douglas told me, "that the said earls of Angus, Glencairn, and Cassils, thought my being at Temptallon to be to small purpose; and wished that the king's majesty would revoke me, and command me to ly at Carlile, where, they say, that I should be nearer unto them by twelve or sixteen miles than I was at Temptallon; and all the country betwixt Carlile and Douglas is theirs and their friends; so that they might always send and write to me without danger, to make me participant of all their proceedings, and know the king's majesty's pleasure again upon the same." If my revocation may stand them in any stead, they are now satisfied in that behalf; and for the rest, I am ready to

do whatsoever pleaseth the king's majesty, according to my most bounden duty.

These things I have thought meet to signify unto your grace by post, specially because of the money-matter, and I shall not fail to wait upon your grace myself on Saturday night, with the grace of God, who preserve, &c.

FITTED ACCOMPT
OF THE
EXPENCES OF SOMERSET'S EXPEDITION,
1Mo EDWARD VI.

The death of Henry did not, as is well known, abate the indignation of the English for breaking off the match which he had devised between his son and the heiress of Scotland. King Henry had bequeathed his eagerness for the marriage, and his resentment against those who opposed it, as a legacy to the councils of his son. Accordingly, the war between the nations was prosecuted with vigour by the lord protector Somerset, who, in 1547, invaded Scotland at the head of a gallant army, routed the Scottish forces in the bloody and decisive battle of Pinky, conquered all the eastern parts of Scotland on the south of Forth, excepting the castle of Edinburgh, and retired into England, having hardly lost an hundred men.

In this memorable expedition, sir Ralph Sadler was treasurer-general to the army, and the following abstract of his accounts is given from the original as matter of interest and historical curiosity.

FITTED ACCOMPT, &c.

The Kinges Maiesties moost Royall Army against Scotland, undre the ledinge of the Right Highe and Mightie Prince the Duke of Somerset, Lord-Protector, in anno regni regis Edwardi xj^{ti}. primo.

The declaracion of the accompte of sir Rauffe Sadler, knight, whome our most dread sovereigne lorde kinge Edwarde the Sixte, by the advise of the lorde protector's grace and others of his maiesties moost honorable counsaile, in the first yere of his highnes reigne, did name and appointe to be high-treasoror of his maiesties armye foragaint Scotland, under the leadinge of the right highe and mightie prince Edwarde, duke of Somersett, governor of the kinges maiesties moost roiall persone, and protector of all his realmes, domynions, and subiects: That is to saie, as well of all suche sommes of the kinges maiesties treasure, by hym or any his deputies recevid towards the furniture of the kinges said army, as also of the deburcing and payment of the same treasure diverse waies, aboute the chardges of the kinges maiesties said armye, from the first daie of August untill the xxth daie of Novembre, in the yere aforesaide, as appereth by diverse warrants signed by the saide lorde protector, and by dyverse other warrantes and lettres, signed by the right honorable the erle of Warwick, lieutenant to the same lorde protector, whiche have ben perused and examyned by vertue of a commyssion undre the greate seale of Englande, directed to certayne

commissioners for the havinge and determynacion of the said accompte. The tenor wherof hereafter ensueth: Edwarde the Sixte, by the grace of God kinge of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and in earth of the church of England, and also of Irelande the supreme hedde; To our right trustie and wel beloved counsailler the lorde Seint John, knight of our order, and grete master of our housholde, and to our trustie and wel beloved counsailler sir Thomas Moile, and sir Walter Mildemay, generall survewors of our court of augmentacions and renewes of our crowne, gretinge; where we heretofore, of greate trust and confidence, did make, constitute, and ordeyne, our trustie and right wel beloved counsaillor sir Rauffe Sadler, knight, master of our great warderobe, and one of the gentilmen of our prevee-chamber, to be our highe treasurer of our warres ageynst Scotland, who, by reason thereof, recevid and paid manye greate sommes of monye for our provisions, expences, and chardges in that behalf: Forasmuche as the said sir Rauffe Sadler, for his dischargd and indempnitie in the exercisinge of the said rome, hath made his humble sute unto us to commande, name, and appointe, certeyne of our commysioners to viewe, peruse, examyne, cast, and trie, all his books, bills of receipte, and paymentes, concerninge his chardge and dischargd in that behalf; we, therefore, havinge speciall trust and confidence in your approvid fidelities, wisdomes, and circumspeccions, auctorice you, and by these presentes do give unto you, or ii of you, full power and auctorite not onlie to viewe, trie, cast, and examyne, and determyn the reconnyngs, accomptes, payments, and receiptes, by the said sir Rauffe recevid and paied, and hym to chardge and dischargd by the warrantes of us, or of our dearest uncle the duke of Somerset, governor of our personne, and protector of our realmes and domynions, or of the lieutenant in the north-parties, or by warrantes from our counsell, or otherwise, as justlie shall apperteyne; but also upon the said accomptes, views, reconinges, receiptes, and payments, by you, or ii of you, viewed, tried, cast, and examyned, trulie made and determyned by vertue hereof, to acquite and dischargd the said sir Rauffe, his heires, executors, and assignes,

by your acquittances, subscribed and sealed with the handes and seales of ii of you at the lest; promisinge and bindinge ourself, our heires and successors, by these presentes, that all and everie suche acquittances and dischargdes made by you, or ii of you, our said commisioners, shal be unto our said counsaillor sir Rauffe Sadler, knight, a good, lawfull, and sufficient acquittance, exoneracion, and full dischargde, against us, our heires and executors, as thoughe the same were made by us under our grete seale of Englande. Provided alwaies and forsene, that all suche sommes of money, as upon the saide accomptes of the said sir Rauffe shall growe and be due unto us, be unto us well and truelie satisfied, contented, and paied, as apperteyneth, and by your appointment delivered to such of our tresoro rs as to your discrecions shal be thought moost mete and convenient; and if upon the declaracion, viewe, triall, and examynacion of his said accomptes and reconinge, it shall appere unto you our said commysioners, or unto ii of you, that the said sir Rauffe be or shall be in superplusage of or for any somme or sommes of money by hym laied owte, or in anywise delivered to any persone or personnes more then he hath recevid; then we woll, and by these presentes doe geve full power and auctoritie unto you our said commysioners, or unto ii of you, to make preceptes, commaundementes, and warrauntes, to our treasurer of our court of augmentacions and revenewes of our crowne for the tyme being, to content and paie, or cause to be contented and paid, unto our said counsaillor, all and everie suche sommes of money, as upon the said declaracion, viewe, triall, examynacion, and determynacion, of his said accompte and reconinge, shal be unto hym adiudged and determyned to be due or owinge; and that the same your preceptes, so to be made as is above said, shal be an immediate and sufficient warrant and discharge unto the saide treasurer of the said court of augmentacions and revenewes of our crowne for the tyme being, for the payment and paymentes of the same against us, our heires and successors for ever; and further, we woll you, and everie of you our said commysioners, to attende and execute the premysses, as our speciall trust is in you. In

witness wherof, we have caused these our lettres to be made patentés; witness ourself, at Westm. the sixte daie of December, in the first yere of our reigne. By force of whiche commysion, the said sir Rauffe Sadler hath yelded to the kinges maiesties use a perfecte accompte of the premysses before the said commysioners. The declaracion wherof hereafter ensueth; that is to saie, the said sir Rauffe Sadler is charged with,

Ready Money by him received of

Sir Edmonde Peckhin, knight, highe treasurer of the kinges maiesties mintes, (That is to saie,) the viijth of Julie, in the first yere of the reigne of our soveraigne lorde kinge Edwarde the sixte, owte of the Tower of London, V^{an}li (£.5000.) The xxvth of Julie, *eodem anno.* note of the said Tower, xx^{an}li (£.20,000). The xxiiij of August, in the same yere, from the said Tower, sent from thence by John Bushe, and recevid at the handes of John Unedall, x^{an}li (£.10,000). The xjth of September, the same yere, sent from the said Tower, and received at the handes of Gregorie Riulton, one of the clerkes of the signet, v^{an}li (£.5000). In all, as by certificate therof, from the said treasurer, it appereth, - - XL. an^t li. (£.40,000)

John Unedall, treasurer for the payment of the kinges maiesties garrisons on the Borders, in the north partyes. The xxviiijth of September, in the yere aforesaid, recevid by the said Unedall, from the minte at York, iiij^{an}li (£.4000). The viijth of October, the same yere, an^tccli (£.1200). In all, as by bills indented of the same Unedall, it doth appere V. an^t cc li. (£.5200)

Treasoror of the ordenaunce in the kinges said armye, of suche money as the said John Man recevid in the campe, of diverse souldiers, for weapons and other municione to them sold, the iiijth daie of October, in the yere aforesaid, the somme of - Celix li. (£.259)

Xlv.cccclix (£.45,459)

Cotes and Conducts outwardes.

Wherof the said accomptant is allowed for, First paid by the said Sir Rauf Sadleir, knight, treasurer of the kinges maiesties armye in Scotland, within the tyme of this accompte, by vertue of sondrie warrauntes to hym directed, to sondrie capitaynes, peticapitaynes, souldiours, and gonners, retayned to serve the kinges maiestie in the said voiage, for the cootes of the same capitaynes, peticapitaynes, and their retinews, after diverse rates, and for the conducte outwardes of diverse and sondrie lords, knightes, gentilmen, capitaynes, peticapitaynes, souldiers, and gonnors, from sondrie places within this realme, to the borders and fronters of Scotland, afre the rate of vij^d of a mile for a lorde, iiij^d a mile for a capitayne, ij^d a mile for a peticapitayne, ob ($\frac{1}{2}$) a mile for everie souldier a fote; viij^d a mile for a capitayne of horsemen, iiij^d a mile for his peticapitayne, j^d a mile for everie souldier, as by the said warrauntes, signed as is aforesaid, declaring the number of men, the distance of their dwelling places, and the severall rates before mencionid upon this declaracion, sene, examynid, tried, cast, and proved, by the auditor of this accompte, it maie appere amounting to the somme of - - -

an^t c li s d
 Vij.iiij.Lxviij. xij. x. ob
 (£.7468 12 10)

Conducte homewardes.

Also paid the same treasurer, by vertue of like severall warrauntes to hym directed, to diverse and sondrie lordes, knightes, and gentilmen, captaynes, peticapitaynes, souldiers, and gonners, for their conducte homewardes to their dwellinge places, of sondrie distances, as by the saide warrantes, signed as is aforesaide, declaring the number of men, the distance of their dwellinge places, and the severall rates before mentioned, herupon examyned and paid, is conteyned, - - - - -

an^t li s d
 Vj.Lxv. xiiij. iiij.
 (£.6065 14 4)

Xiiij.D.xxxiiij. viij. ij. ob
 (£.13,534 7 2 $\frac{1}{2}$)

Redy Money by hym paid and dabused for Wages of Warre.

Also paid by the said accomptant, within the tyme of this accompte, that is to say, first, for the diettes of the right honorable the erle of Warwicke, lieutenant to the lorde protector's grace of the kinges maiesties said armye, paid by vertue of a warrant undre the kinges previe signet, aftre iiij. li (£.4) the daie; and for the wages of diverse and sondrie lordes, barons, knightes (esquires), gentilmen, capitaynes, peticapitaynes, and souldiers, retayned to serve the kinges maiestie in the voiage, at diverse and sondrie rates, by the daie, and paid by this accomptant, at sondrie daies, and in sondrie paymentes, as to hym was appointed by diverse and sondrie warrantes, signed as in the hedde of this accompte is specified, declaringe the nombre and severall wages of the same, undrewritten by the capitaynes of the said armye, testefienge the receipte therof, at the handes of the said treasurer, in likewise upon the declaracion by the said auditor, perused, cast, and examined, it shall appere amountinge to the some of - - - - -

an^t xx li s. d.
 Xxvj.cciiij. xix. vij. j.
 (£.26,299 7 1)

Rewards.

Also paid at sondrie tymes, by vertue of diverse and sondrie warrantes, signed by the right honorable the erle of Warwicke, lieutenant to the lorde protector's grace, that is to saie, in rewarde to capitayne Padley, Hispanierd, xij^{li} x^s (£.12 10). To three of the lorde grace his servautes, being hurte, lx^s. To sondrie spiolls, xxxvj^s viij^d. To Sir Thomas Chaloner, to be paid over to certayne Frenchmen, xxv^{li} (£.25). To Sandie Pringell, c^s. (100^s). To x guides, xxxiiij^{li}. (£.34). To Sandie Whitlawe, c^s. (100^s). To a Scottishe herraulde, c^s. To Thomas Alen, x^{li}. To Doctor Durham, towards his settinge forth, x^{li}.

To Kunyon Cockeburne, being sent from Burthie
 Cragge to speke with my lorde protectors grace, iij^{li}.
 To Laurence Kendall, c^l. To Sur Fraunces Brian,
 for the conductinge of the erle of Huntlowe from
 Barwicke to London, xl^{li}. (£.40). To capitayne
 Burthicke, xxv^{li}. In all, - - - -

xx li s d
 Ciiijv. vj. viij.
 (£.185 6 8)

*Delivered, by waye of prest, to diverse captaynes, upon their owne ways
 and their retynue.*

The lorde grace of Wilton	-	-	-	D ^{li} (£.500)
The lorde Clinton	-	-	-	lxxvj ^{li}
Sir Peter Gambou	-	-	-	ix ^c xxv ^{li} (£.925)
To William Berde	-	-	-	x ^{li}
Captayne Rheny	-	-	-	xv ^{li}
Roberte Crouche	-	-	-	xx ^{li}
Sir John Luttrell	-	-	-	cc ^{li}
Edwarde Dudley	-	-	-	c ^{li}
John Basinge, captayne of the Phanx, to be de-				
livered to Sir Andrewe Dudley	-	-	-	c ^{li}
To Araane Arcanye	-	-	-	iiij ^{li}

———— an^t Dccccl.li (£.1950)

*To diverse Personnes, to be imploied aboutes the
 Kinges Affaires.*

Roberte Legge, treasoror of the kinges				
marin, causes	-	-	-	an ^t li (£.1000)
Frauncis Flemynge, lieutenante of the or-				
dinaunce in the said army	-	-	-	Dclxx ^{li}
John Man, treasoror of the ordenaunce				
for the said army	-	-	-	D ^{li}
George Stonehouse, surveior of the kinges	li	s	d	
maiesties victualls in the said army	ccij.	x.	viij.	

an^t c li s d
 ij.ij.lxxij. x. viij.
 —————
 iiij.ij.xxij. x. viij.

*Allowances touchinge the Treasoror and his Accompte; his own Dietts,
and Wages of his Clerks and Sirvantes.*

Also allowed to the said treasoror, by vertue of the kinges lettres patent, undre the greate seale of Englande, bearinge date at Westminster, the xxvjth of Julie, in the first yere of kinge Edwarde the sixte, auctorisinge the said sur Rauf Sadler, knight, to be highe treasoror of the kinges maiesties said army roiall against Scotlande, gavinge hym the allowance followinge; that is to saie, first, for his owne dietts, from the first daie of August, in the yere aforesaid, untill th xxth of November next ensuinge, by the space of cxij. daies, aftre the rate of xxvj^s viij^d by the daie; cxlix^{li} vj^s viij^d for the wages of xxx men, by all the said tyme, aftre viij^d the daie apece; cxij^{li} for iij clerkes for like tyme, aftre ij^s the daie apece; xliij^{li} xvj^s one purcevant during the same tyme, at xij^d the daie, cxij^s. In all -

li s d
Cccxj. xiiij. viij.

Necessarie Chardges and Allowances.

Also allowed to the said treasoror, for mony by him expended, as well for the provicion of cartes (carte horses), the wages of diverse carters, and for diverse other chardges in the convewaunce of the kinges maiesties treasure, clxviij^{li} xvj^s j^d ob.; also for a tent to kepe the same treasure, vj^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d, and for parchment, paper, books, quilles, dust, counters, sand boxes, and canvas bagges, vj^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d; iij yardes of grene cloth, xxj^s iiij^d; a tellinge table, xxiiij^s iiij^d; trussinge coffers, xl^s; for cariage of the kinges maiesties tentes owt of Scotland upwards to London, as by warraunt from the lorde lieutenant, appereth, xx^{li} viij^s, and for the expences of hymself and his clerks attendinge at London, for the ingrossement of the particulars of this accompte, and for the examynacion of the same, with the auditors ther-

li s d
Cccxj. xiiij. viij.

unto appointed, in like sorte as he was allowed upon this last accompte for the warres against Scotland, xxvj^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d. And also for the travaile and chardges of the auditors, assigned by the commissioners aforesaid, for the perusinge of the bookes and particular warraunts of this accompte, and for the makeinge and writinge of this declaracion, in like sorte as was allowed in the said last accompte of this accomptant, for the warres against Scotland, xxvj^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d. In the hole, - - - - -

li s d
Cclvij. xiiij. ix. ob.
Dlxx. ix. v. ob.
(£.570 9 5½)

Sum Totall of the Money paid and delivered by the said Accomptant, for the Chardges of the said Army. That is to say,

Cotes and conducte owtwardes	^{ant c} vij.iiij.lxviij. ^{li s d} xij. x. ob.	} ^{ant} Xiiij.Dxxxiiij. ^{li s d} vij. ij. ob.
Conducte homewardes	- - ^{ant} vj.lxv. ^{li s d} xiiij. iiij.	
Wages of warre	- - - - -	^{ant} Xxvj.cciij.xix. ^{xx li s d} vij. j.
Rewardes	- - - - -	^{xx li s d} Ciiijv. vj. viij.
In prest to diverse captaynes, upon	} ^{c li} an ^t ix.l.	} ^{ant c} iij.iiij.xxij. ^{li s d} x. viij.
their wages		
In prest to be employed about the	} ^{ant c} iij.iiij.lxxij. ^{li s d} x. viij.	}
kinges affaires		
The dietts of the treasurer, and the	} ^{c li s d} iij.xj. xiiij. viij.	} ^{li s d} Dlxx. ix. v. ob.
wages of his clerkes and servauntes		
Necessarie chardges and allouances	cclvij. xiiij. ix. ob.	

^{ant} Xliij.Dccccij. ^{li s} xiiij.

And so remayneth in the handes of the said treasurer, upon the determynacion of this accompte, -
Which somme of Dxlvj^{li} xviiij^s xj^d is paid to the handes of sir John Williams, knight, treasurer of the kinges

li s d
Dxlvj. xviiij. xj.

maiesties court of augmentacions and revenues to his highnes use, as by the acquittance of the same treasurer remayninge with the auditor of this accompte it doth appere. And so the said sur Rauff Sadler is from his said accompte clerelic dischardged, and

QUYTE.

W. SEINT JOHN. THOMAS MAYLE. WA. MILD MAY.

The Kinges Maiesties Armye Roiell against Scotland.

Sur Raufe Sadler, knight, beinge highe treasurer of the kinges maiesties armye against Scotland, undre the leadinge of the right highe and mightie prince Edwarde, duke of Somerset, governour of the kinges maiesties most roiall personne, and protector of all his realmes, domynions, and subiectes, hathe made and yelded his accompte and reconinges before us, auctorised therunto by the kinges maiesties comyssion, undre the grate seale of Englande, beringe date at Westminster, the vjth daie of December, in the first yere of the reyne of our sovereigne lorde Edwarde the sixte, by the grace of God kinge of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, defendour of the faith and of the churche of Englande, and also of Irelande, in earthe the supreme hedde, (That is to saie,) as well of the somme of $xlv^{an}cccclix^{li}$, by hym, or any his deputies, received and had of the kinges maiesties money, by the handes of diverse personnes, for the payment of the said armye; as allso of the somme of $xliij^{an}ix^{c}xij^{li} xiijs$ by the said sur Rauf Sadler, defraied and paid for the kinges maiesties said armye, from the first of August untill the xxth of November, in the yere aforesaid, upon the ende or determynacion of which his accompte, or reckoninge, the said accomptant is found to be indebted to the kinges maiestie, in the somme of $Dxlvj^{li} xiiijs xjd$, which somme, so by him due, the said accomptant hathe, by our appoyntment, contented and paid to the kinges highnes use, the xxth daie of December, in the first yere of our said souvereigne lorde, to sir John Williams, knight, treasurer to the kinges maiesties court of augmentacions and revenues, as by a declaracion of the said accompte, before examyned, it doth appere. And so the said sir Rauff Sadler is from his said accompte clerelic dischardged and

QUYTE.

W. SEINT JOHN. THOMAS MAYLE. WA. MILD MAY.

LETTERS

DURING THE

REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.

LETTERS

DURING THE

REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.

Queen MARY to Sir RALPH SADLER.—By the Quene.*

MARYE, THE QUENE.

Trustie and welbeloved we grete you well. And whereas we have appoynted our right trustie, and welbeloved, the lorde Clynton, to remayne here aboute our citie of London, with a good number of horsmen and fotemen under his charge, for the better staye and quiet of our lovinge subiects, and the repressing of those that wolde, in our absence, attempt disorders and tumults amongs the same: For his better service wherin like, as we have gyven him power and auctorite to call unto hym the forces of our counties of Essex, Hertforde, and others, within xxv myles of our saide citie, whensoever, and as often as he shall thinke mete and necessarie. So, knowinge your fidelitie towards us, your good zele to the commen quiet, and redé good-will to serve us, we have thought good not onely to advertise you herof, but

* Sir Ralph Sadler's zeal for the reformation of religion, had probably been a little cooled by the death of Edward VI. since we find that Queen Mary thought him worthy of some countenance. He seems to have been living in retirement, at his country seat in Hertfordshire, when this and the following letter were addressed to him.

also to will and requier you to put furthwith in a redynes of your owne servaunts, tenants, and other your frends about you, as many hable men, as well on horsbacke as on foote, as ye ar hable to make in suche sorte, as upon advertisment to be gyven unto you, from the said lorde Clynton, they maye be redy to attende upon hym, to be employed as he shall see cause. In which case our pleasure is, you shall, from tyme to tyme, folowe his order and appoynement: Requiringe you, never the lesse, to have your force in suche redynes, as you maye with the same be hable to repress any other tumult that maye fortune to springe, or arrise, in any other parte of that our countie where you dwell; and besyds, to contynewe your accustomed diligence towards the conservation of the quiet and good order of those places about you, as moche as in you maye lye. Wherof faile you not, as our speciall trust is in you, and as you will answer for the contrarye. And thies our lettres shal be your sufficient warraunte in this behalf. Given under our signet, at our manour of St James, the ixth of Maye, the firste yere of our reigne. (1554.)

To our trustie and welbeloved Sir Rauff Sadleyr, Knight, Hertf.

Post of Ware, se this lettre delyvered.

To our trustye and wellbeloved Sir RAFFE SADLER, Knight. Hertfordshire.- By the Kinge and Quene.

(*N. B. On the back of this Letter is written "consyderable papers."*)

PHILLIPP AND MARYE THE QUENE.

Trustie and welbeloved, we grete you well. And albeit we have of late, by suche our lettres and instructions, as we have addressed furthe unto the sheriffe and justices of peace of everye shire, prescribed suche ordre, as the same beinge well executed, shall, by the helpe of almighty God, be sufficient to kepe all partyes of our realme in good order and quietness. Yet consideringe that the tyme of the

yere drawethe fast on, wherein stirres and tumults have of late yeres comonlye byn wonte to breake furthe, we have thought good, for preventinge of the worst, to prepare to have some powre in a redines, to mete with any soden attempte that might be offered. Wherefore, knowinge your fidelitee and good will to serve us, and the zeale you bere to the common tranquilite and quietnes of your cuntrye, we have specially appoynted, and by theis presents doo appoynte and authorise you, to muster, levie, and prepare forthwith, all your owne servants, tenants, and others under your rules and offices, and of the same so mustred to choyse out, appoynete, and put in full readines, as many hable men, bothe on horsebacke and on foote, as you maye well cause to be furnished with armore, weapons, and other necessaryes, givinge suche ordre, as uppon an howres warninge theye may be readye to be employed for repression of any soden tumulte, stirre, or rebellion within our realme, or for resistinge of anye forren invasion, or otherwyse for our service, as by us, or our privie counsell attendinge aboute us, you shalbe required from tyme to tyme. For the doing wherof, like as theis our lettres shalbe your sufficient discharge. So doo we require you to use your accustomed good diligence bothe in the preparinge your said men, and also inadvertisinge our said counsaile what nombers and what sortes you shall have redye, to thentente, uppon knowlaidge therof, we maye dispose of their service as occasion shall require; whereof we praye you not to fayle, as we specially trust you. Geven under our signet, at our honour of Hampton Courte, the xxth daye of Aprill, the first and seconde yeres of our reignes.

No. III.

Dr NICHOLAS HEATH, Archbishop of York and Chancellor of England,
to Sir RALPH SADLER.*

After our right hartie commendacions, this bearer Frauncys Kempe, our servaunte, by our advyse makith his repayre unto youe at this present, intending at his comminge to commyne with you touching thof-
fice of the clerkeship of the Hamper; whearein he sekith to obtene your good will, by agrement with you for the having of the same at your hands. And forasmuche as for certaine good consideracions us movinge, we do earnestlie desire his preferment unto the saide office, and mynde in all that we can to make any lawful meanes that may be for his furtheraunce in that behalfe, beinge never a whyt ignorant in what state the saide office now standeth, and knowing also right well what communicacion hath ben latelie had with you concerning the same, we have thought good, by these our letters, hastelie to desire and pray you, not onlie favourable to treat with hym in this matter at his being with you, but also so to extend your freendship towards hym herein, as he maye go thorough with you in this his suyte. Your benefite wherein towards hym, and pleasure to us, (for that you shall do it at our request,) shalbe so muche the greater, and so considered of all partes as you shall shewe your selfe to be more willinge in doinge of it. And though it may seeme that we do overmuch burden you with our freendship, in seking, for freendship's sake, to have youe forgoe this thinge, being a parte of your livinge; yet considering both in

* Dr Nicholas Heath was formerly bishop of Rochester, and was imprisoned in 1547 for opposing the Reformation under Edward VI. In Queen Mary's reign he became archbishop of York, and chancellor of England. Upon her death, he moved in council, that Elizabeth should be proclaimed; but he refused to be present at her coronation, and was deprived of his see. He lived long in religious privacy at his manor of Cobham in Surry; and, being a Catholic, was notwithstanding in such esteem with the queen, that she frequently honoured him with her visits. *Camden ad ann. 1559.*

what sorte the same is required, and also how not longe agoo you were contented to suffer *Hales* to enjoye the hole profit thereof, and have not sithens byn any whyt charged with the redeming of it (as farre as we knowe) yf there weare no further question to be made of the matter as ye well understande there hath byn of late, yt cannot be, we doubt not, thought either unreasonable or unworthie of our frendship, yf in his behalfe, whome we do this earnestlie studie to preferre, we require this thinge of youe, whiche shalbe by hym reasonable considered, and by our frendship supplied wheare the same may in any case stand you in steade. We woulde use moe woordes of perswasion unto youe, aswell for your owne commoditie, as for thadvancement of hym in whose case we write, yf we did either mistrust your conformitie, or did think that this that we have alreadie written weare not sufficient to move you. But to conclude, thus muche we saye, that ye can do nothing that we will accepte in more thankfull parte, or gladder consider towards you then this; wherefore, eftsones praing you that it maye take effecte accordinglie, we bid you right hartelie well to fare. From the courte, the xxiiijth of Februarye, 1556.

Your lovinge freende,

(Signed,) NICO. EBOR. CANC.

To our lovinge freende Syr Raffe Sadler, Knight.

LETTERS
DURING THE WAR
OF
THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION,
1559-60.

LETTERS, &c.

The following letters were written during the crisis of the Reformation in Scotland. At that momentous period Elizabeth, well aware of the important advantages to be derived by cherishing and supporting the reformers, who were now in arms under the title of Lords of the Congregation, employed the tried abilities of Sir Ralph Sadler in negotiating with them. Sadler was sent to Berwick under an ostensible commission, granted to him, to Sir James Croft, and to the earl of Northumberland, to settle with Scottish commissioners certain disputes which had occurred on the Borders, and to oversee the fortifications of Berwick. But the more important task of supplying the wants, and animating the courage of the Scottish insurgents, was reposed in Sadler alone, with power to him to use the advice of the others in so far as he thought it prudent or necessary. It appears that he distrusted the earl of Northumberland, and assumed the assistance of Sir James Croft alone in his private negotiation.

As an introduction to the intrigues of Sadler and of Croft, the reader may peruse the following curious memorial, presented to Queen Elizabeth by Cecil, upon the affairs of Scotland.

Memorial of certain Points meet for the restoring of the Realm of Scotland to the ancient Weale, written by my Lord Treasurer (i. e. Cecil) with his own hand. 5 August, 1559.

Imprimis, It is to be noted, that the best worldly felicity that Scotland can have, is either to continue in a perpetual peace with the kingdom of England, or to be made one monarchy with England, as they both make but one isle, divided from the rest of the world.

If the first be sought, that is, to be in perpetual peace with England; then must it necessarily be provided, that Scotland be not so subject to the appointments of France as it is presently; which, being an ancient enemy to England,

seeketh always to make Scotland an instrument to exercise thereby their malice upon England, and to make a footstool thereof to look over England as they may.

Therefore, when Scotland shall come to the hands of a mere Scotsman in blood, then may there be hope of some such accord; but as long as it is at the command of the French, there is no hope to have accord long betwixt these two realms.

Therefore, seeing it is at the French king's commandment, by reason of his wife, it is to be considered for the weale of Scotland, that, until she have children, and during her absence out of the realm, the next heirs to the crown, being the house of the Hamiltons, shou'd have regard thereto, and to see that neither the crown be impair'd nor wasted: And, on the other side, the nobility and commonalty ought to foresee, that the laws and old customs of the realm be not alter'd, neither that the country be impoverish'd by taxes, imprest, or new imposts, after the manner of France; for provision whereof, both by the law of God and man, the French king and his wife may be mov'd to reform their misgovernance of the realm.

And for this purpose, it were good that the nobility and commons join'd with the next heir of the crown, to seek due reformation of such great abuses as tend to the ruin of their country; which must be done before the French grow too strong and insolent.

First, That it may be provided, by consent of the three estates of the land, that the land may be free from all idolatry, like as England is; for justification whereof, if any free general council may be had where the pope of Rome has not the seat of judgment, they may offer to shew their cause to be most agreeable to Christ's religion.

Next, To provide that Scotland might be governed, in all rules and offices, by the ancient blood of the realm, without either captains, lieutenants, or soldiers, as all other princes govern their countries; and especially, that the forts might be in the hands of mere Scotsmen.

Thirdly, That they might never be occasion'd to enter into wars against England, except England shou'd give the cause to Scotland.

Fourthly, that no more noblemen of Scotland should receive pension of France, except it were whilst he did service in France; for otherwise, thereby the French wou'd shortly corrupt many to betray their own country.

Fifthly, That no office, abbey, living, or commodity, to be given to any but mere Scotsmen, by the assent of the three estates of the realm.

Sixthly, That there be a council in Scotland, appointed in the queen's absence to govern the whole realm, and in those causes not to be directed by the French.

Seventhly, That it be by the said three estates appointed how the revenue of the crown shall be expended, how much the queen shall have for her portion and estate during her absence, how many shall be limited to the governance and defence of the realm, and how many shall be yearly appointed to be kept in the treasury.

In these and such like points, if the French king and the queen be found unwilling, and will withstand this provision for the weale of the land; then hath the three estates of the realm authority forthwith to intimate to the said king and queen their humble requests; and if the same be not effectually granted, then humbly they may commit the governance thereof to the next heir of the crown, binding the same also to observe the laws and ancient rights of the realm.

Finally, If the queen shall be unwilling to this, as it is likely she will, in respect of the greedy and tyrannous affliction of France; then is it apparent that Almighty God is pleased to transfer from her the rule of the kingdom for the weale of it: And in this time great circumspection is to be used, to avoid the deceits and trumperies of the French.

And then may the realm of Scotland consider, being once made free, what means may be devised through God's goodness to accord the two realms, to endure for time to come at the pleasure of Almighty God, in whose hands the hearts of all princes be.

A short Discussion of the weighty Matter of Scotland. August, 1559.

Question, Whether it be meet that England should help the nobility and Protestants of Scotland to expell the French; or no?

That no.

1. It is against God's law, to aid any subjects against their natural princes or their ministers.

2. It is dangerous to do it; for if the aid shall be no other than may be kept in secrecy, it can't be great, and so consequently it shall not suffice; if it shall be open, it will procure wars, and the end thereof is uncertain.

3. It may be doubted, that when aid shall be given, and money spent, the French may compound with the Scots, and pardon that error, to join both in force against England; which is more easy to be believed, because they had rather make a shameful composition with Scotland, than suffer it to be rejoined and united with the crown of England.

4. It may be doubted, that to stay the progress of religion against the see of Rome, the emperor, the king catholique, the pope and potentates in Italy, the duke of Savoy, will rather conspire with the French king, than to suffer these two monarchies to be joined in one manner of religion; and in this part may be doubted, that many, as well Scots as English, that can like very well to have these two kingdoms perfectly knit in amity, will not allow them to be knit in a like religion.

That yea.

1. It is agreeable, both to the law of God and nature, that every prince and publick state shou'd defend it self, not only from perils presently seen, but from dangers that be probably seen to come shortly after.

2. Nature and reason teacheth every person, politick or other, to use the same manner of defence that the adversary useth in offence.

Upon these two principles agreed, will evidently follow, that England both may and ought to aid Scotland to keep out the French.

The crown of England hath a just and unfeigned title, of longer continuance than the friendship betwixt Scotland and France, unto the superiority of Scotland; and for the right thereof, it is as good, and in some respect better, than the right of the French queen to the realm of Scotland, as hereafter shall appear. To prove the antiquity and continuance of the right of this superiority, remain good, ancient, and abundant stories; and which is the best proof, the authentick and manifest writings under the seals of Scotland, declaring, from age to age, from king to king, from parliament to parliament, the homages done to the kings of England by the kings of Scots; coming sometimes to York, sometime to London, sometime to Lincoln, sometime to Canterbury. By which title of superiority, the crown of England hath upon differences decided the controversies, and appointed the crown of Scotland as to it was thought fit. And by this title and dignity doth the French queen, as queen of Scots, owe homage

to the crown of England; and so consequently ought the crown of England to defend the liberties, the laws, the baronage, and people of Scotland, from oppression, and that in honour and conscience, no less than the emperor ought to defend the state of Milan, or the kingdom of Bohemia, being vassals to the empire: And therefore, if it may appear that the French king, by pretence of the marriage of an heir of Scotland, will alter the laws, liberties, and customs of Scotland, and will subvert the lawful heirs of the Scottish blood to the crown, and deprive the barons and states of the realm of their inheritance, whereby the French nation and blood may possess that land; then the crown of England is bound in honour and conscience to defend and protect the realm of Scotland against the French. And so doth the first question alter in the most principal point; for then is not the case betwixt subjects and a natural prince, but betwixt a superior king and a realm of the one part, and an inferior king alone joining with strangers on the other part.

But beside this former reason, which resteth but upon a right and honour, it followeth to consider how England ought, even for the protection of it self from perpetual ruin and subversion, see, and that with good speed, that the French be not suffered, by pretence of this particular disorder, to bring their armies into Scotland. And in this part, both God and nature doth not only allow, but also move the realm of England to look to this in time; for in these cases, when it concerneth kingdoms, *haud putarem* cometh too late.

To prove this, that England is in evident danger, if Providence be not used, are to be considered these things following.

First, The disposition of the French to conquer, and be masters of England, I think is unknown neither to Englishmen, nor to any of the Christian nations that knoweth one nation from another. No man is so simple, that hath read or remembered any stories, to think that that nation hath any conscience in keeping or breaking of peace with England.

Next to this, It is too evident that they mean it, and of necessity they must both mean it and follow it.

At the making of this last peace, it was manifest how they laboured to have had the Burgundians conclude a peace without England; and how insolent reasons they used in that point, shew'd what ground they meant to work. They could most falsely say at that time, that they knew not how to conclude a peace with the queen's majesty, nor to whom they shou'd deliver Calais, but to the dolphin's wife, whom they took for queen of England.

Before that, in the time of queen Mary, what practices had they in many places, both abroad and here in England, to deprive the queen's majesty's title that now is, and to set forth their own? insomuch, as, if God had not conferred this crown to the queen's majesty with a notable concord of all states of the realn, it was well seen in France how they meant to have set abroad their device. And too many things there be to prove their burning desire to further this their doings at Rome, in procuring the last pope's bull to declare the queen's majesty illegitimate; their practices in Almain to set forth Eekin's works against the queen's mother; their usurpation of the arms of England, first, in their open justs, when the king was killed, and then consequently using the same in plate, and to despite the queen's majesty's servants in the same plate, wherein her ambassadors were served, now also sent into Scotland; the consultation also had upon the king's death, how this French king shou'd be proclaimed king of England; which was stayed by the wisdom of the constable.

Yet nevertheless followed the ingraving of the same stile in the great seal sent into Scotland, and in the treaty confirmed with the king catholique: This that they forbare to do by proclamation, they do by paintings, gravings, writings, and workings; so as it appeareth manifest what they would, and what they covet. Beside this, how lightly they esteem the queen's majesty appeareth by their keeping of their treaty, being bound and demanded to send a fourth hostage, they have neglected it; and how dishonourably one of them hath pass'd here with the killing of one of the queen's majesty's subjects, doth appear too plain; and yet they have seemed cunningly to be complainers, that is, to bite and to whin like dogs or Frenchmen.

What good disposition the French queen herself is of, doth well appear by her own disdainful speech to diverse persons, and amongst others to some of the queen's majesty's own * gentlewomen being in France.

Hitherto may appear sufficient arguments of the earnest minds of the French towards this kingdom; which how maliciously it hath been set, former years have always declared, when they made no pretence to this crown; and now how this their malice is augmented and taken root, by their false pretended title, may easily appear to be such as the same will never be stayed in them as long as the French queen liveth, or as long as any issue shall come of her body: So

* Elizabeth Sands.

that this quarrel now begun, is undoubtedly like to be a perpetual incumbrance of this kingdom.

And to manifest that it shall now in this time be put most in ure, it is to be considered at this present, the cardinal of Lorrain, and the whole house of Guise, have the chief governance, who only depend upon the queen their niece, and have nothing so much at heart as to advance her titles; wherein they have long flattered themselves, that to augment the crown of France with England by the same woman their cousin, by whom they have gotten Scotland, shall be an immortal fame to their house, and an establishment of the same.

Beside this, at this present the French king hath no quarrel towards any other parts, being in peace with the king catholique, and having married his sister to him, who also is too strong for him; and having also married with the duke of Savoy, and delivered to him his five towns, whereby also the entring of the French king into Italy is utterly cut off: And therefore now resteth no place for the French to bend wars upon, but upon Scotland and England or Ireland; in which point, is to be also remembred the practices which they presently entertain by means of George Paris, who is very lately gone into France with intelligence from certain lords of Ireland, wherein the Dowager of Scotland is a party, and from her the said Paris went last into France.

It followeth, to consider how near these dangers be at hand, and whether they be so far off as the same may be deferred without present remedy.

True it is and likely, that as long as the nobility of Scotland shall be of greater power than the French, so long will the French forbear the open invasion of England; but as soon as Scotland shall either yield of it self, or be compelled for lack of power and ability to yield to the French, forthwith will the French employ both their own strength and the power of Scotland against England.

And to understand how long it is likely for the Scots to keep the upper hand, is easily judged, if it be remembred that the Scots of themselves, when they had a king of their own to aid them, never came into the field with more than fifteen days victual, neither could abide longer together, but were forced to return and change their numbers: So as the way to overcome them, is to prolong time, and not to fight with them, but stand at defence; and therefore, without relief of money to pay them wages, they can't endure long in the field, or in strength. So that it is most evident, that without some relief it will be no long time ere the Scots shall be forced to leave off, whose end of necessity must be the beginning of England; and so the sooner the one endeth, the sooner the other shall begin.

Then followeth another, though no difficult question, Whether it be meeter or more profitable for England to continue the Scots in their strength and defence, than to leave them, and be at the charges of our own defence? In continuance of the Scots, our people is spared, and our country in peace; only some treasure is to be spent: In our defence, our people must be spent, our country spoiled and wasted; and as to expence of treasure, ten times more to be spent that way than the other. The easiest way to stand upon defence must be, to put into Barwick (which now holdeth but 2000) 3 or 4000 more; and if it shou'd come to a siege, 10000 will scanty suffice.

Beside this, the whole three borders must be planted with garrisons, which will not be done under 4 or 5000 men; and if the enemy shall approach with an army, which of necessity he will do, having it transported into Scotland, and so employ it to some profit; then must also an army of like force be levied, and kept there, if not to invade, yet to defend. And what the charges thereof will be, if it last but three months, is soon conjectured to be such as it will weary both the realm and the crown. Furthermore, how at this present England shall be able to furnish an army, is pitiful to understand; how void it is of such generals as either the old dukes of Norfolk, Suffolk, and the last duke of Northumberland, is soon perceived; how much people is of late years wasted by death, is well understood. Again, what manner of army the French mean to have, is already understood; the Rhingrave is appointed already to levy 5000 Almains; what the duke of Saxe shall do, is unknown: And for transportation of them, means is already made with the king of Denmark, whose friendship is sought with such a bait as therewith he will soon be taken, that is, with release of the title that Lorrain pretendeth to Denmark. It may be said, that England may also have Almains: 'Tis true, but some chance may happen that they shall come too late; and whensoever they come, they be unreasonably chargeful. The French have a great advantage at this present; for they pretend outwardly to keep peace with us, and yet they, under the pretence of this matter of Scotland, do daily levy, prest, and send soldiers into Scotland: And England, upon colour of peace, doth not so much as talk how to be defended; and if it forbear until the French be in the field, then is it easily perceived how late it will be to send for succours out of Almain.

These things being but words, of peace, of war, of levying of men, of arming, of victualling, of money, of munition, and such like, move but as words may; but when time shall come, (which Almighty God prolong,) then will it move and

stir all good English bloods, some to fear, some to anger, some to be at their wits end. *

Sir William Cecil was the author of this Discussion, (as he calls it,) and it is all written in his own hand.

At the beginning of this paper, there is a short note in Sir Robert Cotton's hand, as follows :

"Notwithstanding that this month of August, 1559, the treaty of Upsatlington, between the queen of England, and Mary and Francis of Scotland, was made and confirmed; † yet did she, as appears by this consultation in the hand of Sir William Cecil her secretary, continue her purpose of aid and support to the faction in Scotland by Murray."

* There is a very wide difference betwixt this discussion, as contained in Mr Crawford of Drumsoy's Collections MS. Lawyers Library, taken by that gentleman from the originals in the Cotton Library, and that copy of it as published by bishop Burnet, *Hist. Reform.* Vol. III. p. 283. Append. Numb. 54. Whence this disagreement should arise, I cannot divine; but perhaps I may afterwards be enabled to satisfy my readers herein.

† This peace was made in the month of May, and confirmed in August. *Fœdera Anglie.*

LETTERS
DURING THE WAR
OF
THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION.
1559-60.

No. I.

The Moustre of tholde Garrisons of Berwick.

(First occur the names of the individuals, 204 in all: of these, 123 had 4d. a-day, the others 2d. Then comes the following letter:)

I require you to paie unto the persouns abovenamed, beyng soul-diours and others of thold guarison of Berwik, for one hundreth twentie at iiid. per diem the pece, for lxxvj daies, begynnyng the first of February, and ending the xvijth of Aprell; and for iij at like waigs, for xxij daies, begynnyng the xxvijth of March, and ending as before; and for lxxxi at iid. per diem the pece, for lxxvi daies, begynnyng the said first of February, and ending as before; and this shalbe your sufficient warrant in that behalf. Geven at Berwik, the iid of Maii, annis regnorum Phi. et Marie, regis and regine, quarto et quinto.

*To Sir William Ingleby, Knight,
Treasurer of Berwik, and Paymaster of the Gaurrisons
in the North Parts.*

*The Debts owing by the Queen's Majestie to all the Gaurrisons in the North Parts, as well ordinarie as extraordinarie, the 22d of August, 1559.
That is to saye,*

To the Extraordynarie.

	£	s.	d.	lb.	s.	d.			
To Sir James Crofte, knight,	-	-	-	221	0	0	ccxxi		
To the Marshall,	-	-	-	900	7	4	^c ix	vij	iiij
To Sir Richarde Lee,	-	-	-	133	6	8	cxxxij	vj	vij
To Thomas Gower,	-	-	-	9	6	8	ix	vj	vij
To Capten Somerset,	-	-	-	2119	10	10	an. an. cxix	x	x
To Capten Drewrye,	-	-	-	2270	17	4	an. an. cclxx	xvij	iiij
To Capten Vaughan,	-	-	-	2239	3	8	an. an. ccxxxix	ij	vij
To Captain Rede,	-	-	-	2976	0	0	^c an. an. ixlxxvj		
To Capten Markam,	-	-	-	1386	9	4	^{xx} an. ccciiijvj	ix	iiij
To Capten Sutton,	-	-	-	2045	11	8	an. an. xlv	xj	vij
To Capten Ingleby,	-	-	-	911	14	2	^c ixxj	xiiij	ij
To Capten Twety,	-	-	-	108	5	4	cviij	v	iiij
To Pykemen and Pregle, captens,	1126	19	4	an.			cxxvj	xix	iiij
To Browne and Dethicke, captens,	461	1	4				^c iiijlxj		xvj
To Carrile and Woode, captains,	792	6	8				^c ^{xx} viiijxij	vj	vij
To the gonners of the great ordenance,	693	13	4				^c ^{xx} viiijxij	xiiij	iiij
To the Hollye and Ferne islands,	363	2	2				^c iiijlxij	ij	ij
The gonners of Warke,	-	-	-	40	15	8	xl	xv	vij
The gonners at Carlislye,	-	-	-	92	0	0	^{xx} iiijxij		
The benevolence,	-	-	-	925	16	0	^c ixxxv	xvj	
<hr/>									
	an.	c	lb.	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
	xix	viiij	xvij	vij	vj		19817	7	6

To the Ordinarie.

Garrysone of Berwick,	-	-	-	-	an.	D			1500	0	0
					an.	lb.	s.	d.			
Somme of all the debts,	-	-	-	-	xxicccxvij	vij	vj		21317	7	6
Imprested to the said captens towards the debts aforesaid,	-	-	-	-	an.	an.	an.	dlxxij	3072	0	0
So the quenis majestie is yet indebted to her said gar- risons the xxij of August aforesaide,	-				an.	c	lb.	s.	d.		
					xvijvijxlv	vij	vj		17745	7	6
The works to be consydered.											
The Lord Wardeyn's fee.											

No. II.

Instructions given by the Quenes Majestie to her right trustie and right welbeloved cousyne therle of Northumberland, and to her trustie and welbeloved Sir Raphe Sadler, and Sir James Crofts,† Knights.*

ELIZABETH R.

The very cause of their commission is, because it appereth by sundrie letters of the saide erles, aswell to her majesty as to her counsell, that notwithstanding the laste conclusions made by the commysioners of bothe the reallmes, neither the frequent sollicitacion of the saide erle to thopposite wardens of Scotlande, there hathe ben no redresse of diverse attempts there committed. Therfore, lest the same might tende to so great enormitie as, in processe of tyme, the greatness therof wolde be remedyles, her majesty hathe thought necessarye to provoke the quene regent, her goode sister, to appointe some of her ministers of like qualities to mete with the said erle, and the saide sir Raphe and sir James, to determyne some better ordre in suche causes, according to the laste treatie there concluded.

And for this purpose, they shall sende one with her majesties lettres to the saide quene regent, and to move her, that herin some expedition might be used, and consequently the saide commissioners shall

* Thomas Percy, seventh earl of Northumberland, son of sir Thomas Percy, brother of Henry, the sixth earl. He was restored in blood by Queen Mary; his father having been attainted for his share in Aske's rebellion, called the Pilgrimage of Grace. The earl himself engaged afterwards in an unfortunate insurrection, in favour of the Catholic religion, concerning which there are some documents in this collection. He fled into Scotland; and being delivered up to Queen Elizabeth by the regent Morton, was beheaded at York, 22d August, 1572.

† Sir James Croft, or Crofts, had a good military reputation; having governed Ireland, and defended Haddington against the French and Scotch. He was attainted by Queen Mary, but restored by Queen Elizabeth, and made governor of Berwick; an office which he enjoyed at the date of these letters. He was afterwards comptroller of the household, and one of the commissioners at the treaty of Bourbourg, and died in 1596.

(as they see cause) employe themselves, with the ministers of Scotlande, to the mutuall redresse of disordres upon bothe parts. And further shall, accordinge to thauthorite of their commission, conclude and determyne eny other thinge, that maye tende to commen quiet of those frontyers, and for the raunsomyng of prisoners on bothe parts, the saide commissioners shall doo their endeavour, foreseinge that without her majesties advise, the lord Grey nor therle Marshall's sone, whiche be prisoners of great value, be not acqyte nor prised, but contrarywise, if it shall appere necessarye, that they bothe be revoked into the reallme. The same shall so doo, as they see cause.

(August 1559.)

CECILL.

No. III.

(On the back of this is written, "Papers worthy.")

Instructions given by the Quenes Majestic to Sir RAFF SADLEYR, Knight, being sent presently to Berwyke for the purpos hereafter folowing. Augusti, A°. 1559.

ELIZABETH R.

In primis, He shall by the waye, if therle of Shrewsbury * be either at York, or nere the highwaye, or els not, repayre unto him, and delyver unto him the quenes majesties lettres, and confer with him, how

* Francis, fifth earl of Shrewsbury, whose correspondence and memorials with those of his descendants, during the period of thirty years, have been published by Edmund Lodge, esquire, under the title of "Illustrations of English History, Biography, and Manners." In 1557 the earl of Shrewsbury was lord-lieutenant of the counties of York, Lancaster, Chester, Derby, Stafford, Salop, and Nottingham; in the next year, justice-general of the forests north of the Trent; and, upon queen Mary's accession, he became lord-president of the North. Elizabeth continued to admit Shrewsbury to the royal councils, although he was not only a strict catholic, but even opposed the revocation of the acknowledgment of papal authority. He died 21st September, 1560.

such money as is due to be payd to her Majestie for the subsidye at this present, may be with spede levyed and collected, so as it may be paid to the treasurer of Berwyke, according to such warraunt as the cheif collectours shall receive from the court of the exchequer. And in this point it is ment, that such discretion be used as to the cause doth apperteyn. Herin the saide Sir Rafe Sadleyr shall, before his departure out of London, confer with the lord treasurer, and shall also take with him such further instructions to be imparted to the sayd erle, for the spedy levying of such debts and arrerages, as be due to her Majestie in those parts. And if the said erle be not nigh the waye, then the sayd Sir Rafe shall impart the contents thereof by his writting.

Item, In his waye to Berwyke, he shall conferre with therle of Northumberlande, and declare unto him the causes of his sendyng downe to be principally to see the state of the works at Berwyke, and thoccasion of the great wasts of treasure there. And next to joyne in commission with the said erle, for communication with the Scottishe ministers, for better reformation of the disorders there uppon the frontiers, whereof her Majestie, by the said erles lettres, perceveth there is great lack, and many disappointments on the part of Scotland; and therefore the sayd erle shall procede according to the commun instructions sent for that purpos.

Item, From thens he shall go to Berwyke,* and there take a vieu of the fortifications and works, and procure at sir Richard Lees hands, and the treasurers or otherwise, if it may there conveniently be done, the total charge, though it be but in an estimate of the fortification of

* The fortifications of Berwick were now undergoing various alterations under the inspection of sir Richard Lee, who, in the reign of Edward VI., had been employed in a similar commission at Tynemouth and at Norham, (Lodge's *Illustrations*, pages 80. 101 Vol. I.) and was afterwards deputed to survey Leith, Edinburgh, and Inchkeith. HAYNES, p. 296, 297, 307. The works, when completed, rendered Berwick, in the opinion of Camden, the best fortified town of all Britain. But, while they were going on, military men appear frequently to have blamed particulars of the plan, and the council frequently complain of the enormous expence.

the new pere and fort that was begon in king Edwards time, and since relinquished; and next to that, he shall by like meanes procure a declaracion of the yerly charges susteynid during the reigne of quene Mary about the new fortifications and walling of the towne, and consequently of the charges susteynid sence the begynnyng of the reign of her majestie now ruling. Which done, he shall cause a comparison to be made of the rest of the town that is not, and yet ought to be fortified, with that quantite which is finished, and theruppon, by sum collection or jugement, cause to be made an estimate of the charges to cum for the performauce of the fortifications ment and purposed: wherin her majestie meaneth not to burthen any of them with miscompting or misjudging, but requireth only an estimate as nigh as they may.

Item, He shall confer with sir Richard Lec, and understand the mater wherof he wrote to her majestie in July last, and for which purpos he desired to have sum singuler trusty persoune sent thither, as now her majestie sendeth the sayde sir Rafe Sadleyr for that purpos. *

Item, He shall understand privatly and apart the complaints of the treasurer, and of Abington, touching the care of victailling, wherein the souldyours find great lack, for that their victaill is nother seasonable, nor of reasonable price; and the victailler also complaineth, that he cannot have his money retourned at the treasurers hands. Herin the sayd sir Rafe shall employe sum care to sett those maters in better order.

Item, He shall also consyder with therle of Northumberland, and with such others as he shall think meet, for the order of the castel of Warke, † what is best to be done therewith. And before his depar-

* This short intimation comprehends the principal object of Sadler's commission; his powers, namely, to treat with the Scottish insurgents.

† Situated on the southern bank of the Tweed, two miles west of Cornhill: its ruins occupy a high, and apparently an artificial mount, at the end of the village, and overhang the river. It belonged to sir Ralph Gray, to whose family it had been restored by queen Mary, upon an indenture for duly keeping and defending it.

ture from London, he shall require of the lord treasurer the copie or the brief of thindentures betwene the late quene Mary and Mr Gray for that purpos.

Item, He shall, if he see cause, deliver a lettre to the lady Carnaby,* for the lendyng of the hous at Hexam, which she hath there, to the keaper of Tyndale, accordyng as the lord wardeyn thinketh it necessary.

Finally, He shall, in all his doings, use conference with whom he thinketh meet in the premisses, and shall use his wisdom to cause things there at Berwyke to be better governid for her Majesties weall and commodite; and shall at such tyme as he thinketh meet, take the musters of the garrisons there, and see how the olde garrison of the towne is in order of service, for that it is doubted whither by pre-tence of the new, the old be decayed.

CECILL.

No. IV.

To our trustie and welbeloved Sir RAFE SADLEYR, Knight.†

ELIZABETH R.

Trusty and welbeloved, we grete you well. Lyke as we have uppon greate trust conceaved in you, conferred for certen speciall service to be doone by you uppon our frontiers towards Scotlande, so doo we authorise you to conferr, treate, or practise, with any maner of person of Scotland, ether in Scotland or England, for those purposees, and for

* The widow of sir Raynold, or Reginald Carnabie, who, in 1534, was one of the earl of Northumberland's gentlemen of the bed-chamber, and lieutenant of the marches in 1537 jointly with his father, William Carnabie. The lady not chusing to surrender her house to sir Francis Slingsby, keeper of Tynedale, occasioned much dispute between sir Ralph Sadler and the earl of Northumberland, as appears from letters which follow.

† This letter contains sir Ralph Sadler's private powers.

the furdurance of our service, and of any other thyng that may tend to make a perpetuall concord betwixt the nation of Scotland and ours. We doo also authorise you to reward any manner of person of Scotland, with such somes of mony as ye shall thynk mete to be taken, of the some of three thousand pounds, which we have ordred shuld be delyvered unto you in gold. Wherin such discretion and secrecy is to be used, as no parte of your doings maye empayre the treatyes of peace lately concluded betwixt us and Scotland. And for enlargement of our furdur meaning in this, we referr you to consider a memoryall of certen articles to be delyvered to you by our secretory; whereunto ye shall not nede to have furdur respect than the oportunitie of the tyme will requyre. Gyven under our signett the 8th of August, at Nonsuch, 1559, the first yere of our reigne. *

No. V.

To our very loving Friends, Sir RAFE SADLER, Knight, Sir JAMES CROFTS, Knight, Captent of the Town and Castle of Barwick, and Sir WILLIAM ENGLEBY, Knight, Treasurer there. †

After our very harty commendacions. Where we understande, that amongst others, that by ordre from hence were of late discharged of theyr intertaynement there in the north, one John Wylding and John Stoddert were allso cassed amongst the rest. Forasmuche as we be informed, aswell by our very good lorde therle of Northumberlande, as otherwayse, not onely that these men have byn of very long contynuaunce in service there, but allso that they ar honnest persounes, and very necessarie men to be contynued still in intertaynement: we have thought mete to require you, in caase it shall appere unto you, uppon enquire

* The hand-writing is secretary Cecill's.

† This letter is endorsed, *Papers of great concerne.*

of the matter, that the sayd personnes have remayned any long while in service in those partes, and that they ar suche necessarie men as is reported, to take ordre that they be agayne restored to theyr former places, with suche entretaynement as they have heretofore, in tymes of peace, byn accustomed to have. And farther, where in the tyme of Quene Mary, one John Fleming was, with fyfty gonners, suche as came from Guysnes, sent unto Berwyk to serve there; lyke as this matter was fyrst devised of intent to relief the poore men, being then without other succour; so for that it was not therby ment to have the charges of that nombre contynued any longer then during the lyves onely of those L personnes that came from Guysnes; and considering herewithall, that it is not lyke but that many of the sayd gonners that were fyrst placed there, ar either by death, or by absenting them sellfs from thence, decayed by this tyme; we have thought good, aswell in respect hereof, as for that allso we understande the sayd voyde romes have byn supplied by other men, contrary to the fyrst meaning, to pray you to cause this matter to be substancially examined, and not onely to cause such as have newly byn brought into the sayd rome, and were not of the nombre of the said gonners that came from Guysnes, to be all cassed, onelesse they, or any of them, shall appere unto you to be suche men, as for theyr skyl and qualities ar fyt to be contynued in service; but allso to take ordre, that from henceforth, as any of the sayd fyfty gonners, that were fyrst placed in the sayd rome, shall, by death or otherwyse, fayle, none other be suffred to come in to his place, but that the roome may dye with the personne, according to the fyrst intent. And bycause it was lately ordred from hence, that the sayd John Fleming, having, at the fyrst entrie into the charge of the sayd men, had the intertaynement of iiij^s by the day, sholde be abated of ij^s thereof by the day, and remayne onely with the wagis of ij^s *per diem*: we think it no reason but that thother officers under hym sholde be, in lyke manner, abated of the fyrst wagis that was appointed unto them, and therefore where the sayd Flemings mate hath hitherto had ij^s by the day, and iiij quarter-masters xvj^d eche of them by the

day, it is thought here convenient that the sayd Flemings mates intertaynement be brought to xvj^d by the day, and the iiij quarter masters to xij^d by the day the peece, from henceforwards. We therefore require you to take ordre forthwith therein, according to this determinacion. And so we byd you hartely well to fare. From Hampton courte, the xvth of August, 1559.

Your loving frends,

W. NORTH.¹

E. ROGERS,⁶

ARUNDELL,²

F. KNOLLYS,⁷

E. CLYNTON,³

W. CECILL,⁸

W. HOWARD,⁴

R. SACKEVILLE,⁹

THO. PARRY,⁵

N. WOTTON.¹⁰

¹ William Par, Marquis of Northampton.

² Henry Fitz-Alen, 10th earl of Arundel. He had been governor of Calais, and lord chamberlain under the reign of Henry VIII. and was steward of the household to queen Elizabeth. Arundel nourished the preposterous ambition of marrying this princess, who, though she had no objection to her subjects being her lovers, did not think of chusing any one of them for a husband. He died in 1579-80.

³ Edward lord Clinton, lord high admiral, afterwards earl of Lincoln.

⁴ William, first lord Howard of Effingham, son of the second duke of Norfolk, by a second marriage. He died 12th January, 1572.

⁵ Sir Thomas Parry, or Ap Harry, alias Vaughan, a distant relation of Cecil, by whom he was probably introduced to the queen's notice. He was comptroller of the household, and master of the court of wards and livery, and died 15th December, 1559.

⁶ Sir Edward Rogers, of Cannington, in Somersetshire. He was a steady reformer, and fled into France from the fires of persecution, in the reign of Queen Mary. Sir Edward was sworn a privy counsellor on queen Elizabeth's succession, and was afterwards comptroller of the household. He died in 1582.

⁷ Sir Francis Knollys, son of Robert Knollys, gentleman of the bedchamber to Henry VIII. He was a brave soldier, a zealous reformer, and even supposed to be attached to the tenets of the puritans. In queen Elizabeth's reign he obtained the garter, was vice-chamberlain, captain of her guard, and treasurer of her chamber. He was also one of the instruments of persecution whom Elizabeth employed against the unfortunate Mary. In 1596 he died, treasurer of the queen's household.

⁸ Sir William Cecil, principal secretary, afterwards lord Burleigh, and lord high treasurer.

⁹ Sir Richard Sackville, chancellor of the court of augmentations, and under treasurer of the exchequer. He was, says Camden, a person of a wise foresight, and the queen's kinsman, by his mother, who was a Boleyn. At his death, in 1556, he was succeeded in

No. VI.

Coppie of a Lettre sente to the Dowager of Scotlande by therle of Northumberland.

May it please your grace to be advertised, that accordinge to your graces lettres, sendinge the conteneue of the same unto the Queanes Majestie and hir counsell, before the arryvall whereof her Majestie was determinede, and had maide comission to such as hir highnes pleasure is, shall commune of those affaires, who, as I perceive, are sir Raufe Sadler, Mr Croftes, capteine of Barwyk, and my selfe, as by hir Majesties letres, herewith, all sent unto your grace, I trust will appeare and be declared. And further, I ame enformede that Mr Sadler wilbe heare on Fridaie next, so as if it may so staunde with your graces pleasure, it shall be verie good for losse of tyme that your graces comissioners, and all suche thinges as are requisite for that purpose, shalbe in aredines; whereupon beinge ascertainede, your grace shall have with all speade advertisment of tyme and place accordingle. Furthermore, the deputies and officers of that your realme have bene at Alnwyke accordinge to the laite appointment, where I suppose they have bene in all maters aunswered accordinge to justice, as I trust them selves will testifie; and for that they were not in suche forwardnes to aunswer our complaints as they thought conveniente, they desired further daie then was appointed, which is agreed unto, not dowbtinge but that your grace will geve order that the lyke procedinges shalbe used, towardes the lieges and subiects of this realme, by your graces officers for the maintenance of good rule on the borders, and repressinge of offenders,

the queen's favour by his son, Thomas Sackville, who was created lord Buckhurst, and founded the ducal family of Dorset.

¹⁰ Nicholas Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York. He was much employed in foreign negotiations, during the reigns of Henry VIII. and his successor, and died in 1566, after having served in nine embassies to the several states of Europe.

theaves, and true breakers, for the which (as I have diverse times heretofore done) I shall most humblie beseache your grace to have suche consideracion therin as to justice, with honor and quietnes of bothe realmes, shall apperteigne. And so I committ your grace to Almightye God. From Warkworth, the xvjth of August, 1559.

No. VII.

*The Erle of Northumberland to Sir RALPH SADLER.**

After my right hartie comendacions unto you. And forasmuche as the instructions declare, that we shall sende one with the quenes majesties letres to the quene regent of Scotlande; and to move that expedicione might be used in the causes of our comissione, I have therefore made a letre in the name of yourselfe, Mr Croftes, and me, which you shall receyve hereinclosed, together with the quenes highnes letres to the said regent, which yf you do not myslike, then may you and Mr Croftes seigne it, and send it awaie by Henry Ray the pursyvant (of) Berwike, or other, as shall please you. And if you do not thinke it to passe in that sorte, that it will please you to devise the maner thereof, and ether to send it from yourselves, or to retorne it hether; and as you shall determyne, it shalbe used. But for conveyance, althoughe, accordinge to my sayinge unto you, I have wrytten to Thomas Claveringe † to be in aredynes for the purpose upon your comandement, if it shuld chaunce the pursyvaunt not to be there, or that ye wold have

* Endorsed, To my assured loving frend sir Rauff Sadler, knight, at Barwick, geve this in hast, hast, post hast, for thie lief, lief, lief. Delivered at Warkworth the xixth of August, at 3 of the clok in the afternoone. Rassaved at Alnewike after vth of cloke in the afternone. Rassaved at Belfourd the xix da off August at ix off the cloke at night.

† Who, as elsewhere appears, was farmer of the demesnes at Norham, by a lease from sir Henry Percy, brother to the earl. Clavering, perhaps as being a dependant on the Percy family, seems to have been held in great suspicion by Sadler, who repeatedly expresses an anxious wish that he should be removed from his situation at Norham.

the said Claveringe to travell therein, yet for diverse causes, and specially for the metinge at Jedworth for thanswere of oure bills, he may presentlie be verie evell forborne, which I shall require you to consider accordingle. And so byd you most haretelie farwell. Frome Warkworth, the xixth of August, 1559.

Your assured loving frend,

NORTHUMBERLAND.

POSTSCRIPT.

Ye shall receyve also here inclosed a copie of my last lettres to the quene dowager and regent of Scotland, accordinge to suche letres as I receyved from my lordes of the councell and Mr Cecill, of the which as yet I have had none answeere. I have wrytten to Thomas Clavering that yf any answeere thereof be come unto his handes, or do come, that they shalbe brought unto you, which I pray you to brek up and peruse, and therebie ye shall the better understand what is to be wrytten or saide by this message.

No. VIII.

Copie of a Lettre from the Dowagier of Scotland to therle of Northumberland.

After our hartie commendations. We have receyved a letre from the quene your sovereign, and an other of your owne, declaring the commission given to you, sir Rafe Sadleir, and sir James Croft, and reparing of the saide sir Rafe towards the borders to that effect, desiering that our commissioners, and all suche things as shalbe requisite for that purpose, maye be in a readiness. For satisfieng of the whiche desier, we shall immediatelie give commaundement to expedite the commission for the parte of this realme, and make advertisement to

therle Boithuile and his colleags to put themselves in a readines, and therafter give you warning what daye they maye kepe for meting, and appointe summe convenient place for the same. Thus referring the residue to their advertisement, we committ you to the tuicion of Almightye God. At Edinburgh, the xix daye of August, 1559.

La toute vostre,

MARIE R.

*To therle of Northumberland,
Lieuttenant of the North Parts of England
foreanents Scotland.*

NO. IX.

*To therle of Northumberland, Warden of thest and middle marches of
England, Sir RAFE SADLEIR, and Sir JAMES CROFT, Knights.*

After our hartie commendations. We have receyved your letre of Warkworth, the 19 of this instant, purporting in effect, that ye have receyved commission from the quene your soverain to mete suche persons of this realme as shall please us to appoynt, to determyne and conclude uppon the matiers therby committed unto you, desiering that you may understand by this berer, aswell our commissioners for that purpose appointed, as also their mynds of the tyme and place of meting; this shalbe to signefie unto you, that for the present the persons we thinke convenient to ioyn with you beyng absent, and summe of them occupied in the same border affaires, we have sent for them to be with us shortelie for receving of their commission and instructions, unto whose comming we cannot give you resolute aunswer; but they shall cause you be certefied by their letres of the poyntes ye nowe requyer of us, wherein ye shall well perceive suche diligence, as we shalbe lothe to see our tyme driven, or so good a purpose put in de-

laye. Thus we committ you unto Almightye God. At Edinburgh,
the 23d of August, 1559.

La toute vostre,

MARIE R.

No. X.

Sir RAFE SADLER and SIR JAMES CROFT to Mr Sec. CECIL.

It may like you to understonde, that upon tharryvall here of me sir Rafe Sadler, we have conferred togither upon this secrete affayree, which it hathe pleased the quenes majestie to committe unto us; and considering the state and perplexite therof, albeit we cannot iudge what is to be hoped for certenty at their hands whom we have to do withall,* yet we thinke it good polycie, that if they may be by any meanes incouraged and comforted to folowe their enterprises, the same be not neglected on our parts. And therefore, thinking it not amisse that they might understonde of tharryvall of me the saide Sir Rafe; forasmoch as at my commyng hither here was a secret messenger sent from Knox, I sir James Crofts have by him signefied the same by my lettres unto the said Knox, wishing that Mr Henry Balnaves,† or som other discrete and trustie man, might repayre in such secret maner, and to such a place, as I have apoynted here, to thintent we might conferre with him touching their affayrees, supposing that shortly we shall receyve som answer in that parte, wherof we shall advertise you with such spede as the case shall require.

And uppon further consideracion of this matier, it semeth unto us, that nothing might more advaunce the same, then the presence of therle

* At the hands of the Scottish nobles associated for the cause of religion, under title of the Lords of the Congregation.

† Mr Henry Balnaves of Hallhill, who figures among the favourers of the Scottish Reformation.

of Arrayn in Scotland, who shoulde have more estymacion there then his father,* and shoulde be well hable to take the matier in hande if his father wolde refuse: wherfore it were no evill polycie to haste him thither. For albeit the duke hath withdrawn himself from the regents partie, yet is he not so fully inclyned to thothers devocion as they desire. Albeit they have good hope of the same.

It seemeth they make litle or none accompt of the French power which is loked for out of France, wishing that the same shoulde rather com then not; for as the nomber can not be greate, so thinke they, that the same shoulde so stirre and irritate the herts of all Scottish men, as they wolde holly and firmly adhere and sticke together, wherby their power shoulde so increase, as they shoulde be well able both to expell the French out of Scotlande, and also the better achieve the rest of their hole purpose. In which case, as I sir James Crofts understonde by Knox, they woll require ayde of the quene's maiestie, for thenterteynemente and wagis of xv^e (1500) arquebusiers, and iij^e (300) horsemen, which, if they may have, then Fraunce (as Knox sayeth) shall sone understonde theyre mynds. And if any such ayde shalbe required, albeit we thinke it not good, we intende not to answer them, so as they shalbe without hope thereof, yet wolde we be glad to understonde the quenes maiesties pleasure in that parte, wishing, if it may be loked for that any good effect shall folow, that her maiestie shoulde not, for the spending of a grete dele more then the charge of their demande amounteth unto, pretermitteth such an oportunte.

And to say our poure mynds unto you, we see not but her highnes must be at some charge with them, for of bare words onely, though they may be comfortable, yet can they receyve no comforte. The bestowing of ij or iij^m (2 or 3000) crownes to relieve them, which have susteyned grete losses, and spent, as we understonde, in maner all they had in this matier; now to incourage them to do somewhat, and if

* The feeble and vacillating disposition of the duke of Chatelherault, of which he shewed so many instances when governor, had rendered him contemptible, in spite of his high rank and relation to the crown.

the same be well spent, a grete dele more cannot but be well employed; and if such effect do not folow thereof as we desire, her highnes must accompte that she hathe cast so moche into the see, the losse whereof may be easily born and recovered, and eyther must her maiesty adventure the losse of money amongst them, or ells leave them to themselves, for we see not that the meane can serve the turne in this parte.

Thus be we bolde to expresse our poure mynds, as men desirous to do our duties in thys service, which we shall attende to thuttermost of our witts and power: beseching you to let us be often advertised and instructed from tyme to tyme, of the quenes maiesties pleasure. And that we may also understonde, as the case shall require, of such advertisements as ye shall have out of Fraunce, from tyme to tyme, wherupon we may the better direct and frame our doings here in this service. August 20, anno 1559.

No. XI.

*Sir JAMES CROFTS to JOHN KNOX.**

I have receyved your lettres, with others addressed to Mr Cecil, which I have depeched unto him. Assone as any answer of the same shalbe retourned, you shall understonde it. And forasmuche as before tharryvall of your messenger here, I understode that sir Rafe Sadler was specially directed hither from the courte for these affayres, I thought good to stay your saide messenger untill his arryvall; for that I thought to have som good matier whereof to advertise you. And now the saide sir Rafe is here presently, who, and I also, wolde be giad to have som conference eyther with Mr Henry Balnaves, or som other discrete and trusty man, for the better expedicion of this grete

* The hand-writing is sir Ralph Sadler's.

and weightie busyness, which you have in hande; wheruppon you shall understonde how moche your cause is tendered, and also, I trust, receyve such comforte as shalbe to your good contentacion. And if Mr Balnaves, or whosoever shall com, it shalbe best that he com by sea to Holy Ilande, there to remayne quyetly with capitayn Rede, till I may be advertised of his arryvall there, and thereuppon I shall take order for his conveyance hither, in suche secret maner as the case doth requyre.* August 20, 1559.

No. XII.

Secretary CECILL † to Sir RALPH SADLER.

This daye I have receaved your lettre dated the 20th of this moneth. For answer of the substance wherof the quenes maiestie hath wrytten to you, Mr Sadler, at this present. It is thought that a paye of ij moneths wold well serve at this present, the yere being so farr spent as it is, and so might a thousand harquebusiers be mayntened ij moneths with less than ij thowsand pownds, and iij^c horsemen, for the lyke space, with vij^c.^l It is required that the Mr of Maxwell might be allured with some gentle lettres, but of what argument, and to what end, it is not known. In your conferences, me thinketh, the *protestants* there should be thus perswaded, that considering we be in peace with

* The first copy was worded as follows, but is now crossed out. "To be addressed hither by see to Holy Island, from the lords, with som instructions from the lords of the congregation of their mynds, and intents, how they intende to procede, with whom we may conferre what is to be don in this greate and weightie busyness, which they have in hande, wheruppon they shall understonde by the saide sir Rafe and me, how earnestly this quenes maiestie, my saide sovereign, doth tender their cause, and also shall receyve such comforte at her hands, as thereby they shall well perceyve that she doth no lesse tender their cause then they themselves do, and wold do as moche for the furtheraunce of the same godly action as she well may with her honour, and as the equyte of their cause requireth."

† In Cecill's own hand-writing.

there enemyes, and may not conveniently breake without great iniurye offered unto us, or evident commoditee therby ensuing, that therefore they shuld devise such wayes wherby they might be helped by us, and yet we to remayne in peace as we do. As for any iniurye offered, it is so farr of, as now presently beyond expectation and custome also; the French make many shews of great goodwill towards us; wherin, notwithstanding, we be taught not to be deceived. As for any evident commoditee herby insuing, it is rather apparently dowtfull than certeyn, and so wilbe, except they shall make more spede hereafter than they have done. I will procure the young man* to come thyther in hast, assone as he commeth hyther, which I thynk wilbe x or xij dayes hence. I wish Ballnavuss there with you.

Out of France we have not many newes, and yet ye shall have them as they be. The 13 hereof the old king was buryed, the new proclaimed, and no more but with the accustomed style, although they have a seale engraving for the affayres of Scotland, with the armes and style of England and Ireland. What will succede I know not.† The xv of this moneth the King of Navarr was not at the courte, but looked for on the 17th. He is offended that so great hast is made with the sacre of the new King, which shalbe the 10 of the next. All the cardinals of France, saving Lorrayne, is gone to Roome to the deth of the old, or creation of a new pope. The King of Spayne is not yet past by. The French were embarked the xxth of this moneth, being in number 14 sayles, but as yet I have no knoledg certen of there passing by. There is 1000 pykes, and 1000 harquebusiers. One Octavian,

* The earl of Arran.

† He alludes to the succession of Francis II. and Mary of Scotland to the French crown. It seems to have been expected, that they would have assumed, among their titles, that of King and Queen of England, in consequence of the illegitimacy imputed to Elizabeth by the catholics. It is well known, that Queen Mary's quartering the arms of England with those of France and Scotland, was the mortal offence which Elizabeth never forgave.

an old *Millenor** of this court, hath cheff chardge. La Bross, and the bishop of Amyens, followeth the bishop as a legate from Roome.

The quenes maiestie is half hoole half in dout of an agew. God send her as good helth as she hath a hart. I pray you send this lettre included, as ye maye saftly to the duke, and so I end. If Mr Lee be not *come*, tell hym that he shall have his lettre of lycens at my house, by Stamford. I trust you, Mr Sadler, knowe his meaning. God be with you, and us also. From Hampton court, the 24th of August.

Yours, assured,

W. CECILL.

No. XIII.

The Copie of Mr Secretary CECILL'S Lettre to the Duke of CHASTELHERAULT, in Scotland.

Maye it please your grace, after myne humble and lefull commendacions. I have receved your lettre of thankes, given to me for my good will shewed towards your sonne,† who, indede, for his reaported qualities deserveth more than I can shewe, and therfore whatsoever I have doone I acknowledge it due to him, and so therby I am indebted to your grace for your thankes. I beseche your grace at this present, neglect not suche oportunitie of dooyng good to your countrey, as the lyke was never offred this 100 yeres, nor percase shall not many other 100 happen, if this tyme be omytted. Repentance doothe most harme where no remedie remaineth. But I will not molest your grace with my writing; this one thing I covet, to have this isle well united in

* *i.e.* A native of Milan. This same captain Octavian shortly afterwards arrived at Leith, with a regiment of French soldiers.

† The aforesaid earl of Arran being driven to take refuge in England, it would seem that his father had bespoke for him the protection of Cecil.

concord, and then coulde I be content to leave my lief and the ioye therof to our posterite. I doo send herinclud a lettre from your graces sonnes servaunt, to whom I have given the best advice that I coulde, for the accomplishing of his errand, wherof I trust in God to heare within theis 12 dayes. And so I take my leave, prayeng Almightye God to make you the instrument of his true honor, against Antichrist, the perpetuall enemye of his deare sonne, our Saviour Christ. From Hampton courte, the 24th of August, 1559.

Your gracis, at command,

W. CECILL.

Supscription,

To the Duke of Chastellherault, in Scotland.

NO. XIV.

To our trusty and welbeloved Counsellor Sir RAFF SADLER, Knight, at Barwyk.

ELIZABETH R.

Trusty and welbeloved, we greate you well. We have sene your lettres and sir James Crofts to our secretary, dated the 20th of this moneth, and uppon consideration aswell thereof, as uppon certen lettres sent from others there, whereof sir James Crofts was privee, and sent them to our sayd secretory, we thynk it convenient that ye shall imparte such monny as was committed to you at your departure, or so much thereof as ye shall thynk mete, in the secretest manner that ye can, to such persons, and to such intents, as maye most effectually funder and avance that manner of service, that hath bene specially recommended unto you. And therein we do recommend the maner and circumstancees hereof to your discretion, using therein at your choise ether the counsell of the sayd sir James, or sir Henry Percy, or

any other our trusty servants there. Gyven under our signett the 24 of August, 1559.

No. XV.

To the Quenes Majestie, from Sir RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT.

Please it your highness to understonde, that, forasmoch as sir Rafe secretarie, now repaying to your majestie, can well declare the state of the fortificacions here, we shall referre the same to his reporte. And nevertheles have thought it our parte to signifie unto your majestie, that, in our poure opynyons, it were mete, considering your highnes charges here be grete, that som of the nobilite and of your gravis consaile might repayre hither before the spring of the next yere to view the same,* not doubting but whosocver do com wolle thinke his travaile well bestowed; for surely the works are wourthie the seing, and, as we thinke, be both fayre, and lykelye to be made very strong, wherein grete expedition hath ben used hitherto, wishing that it may please your majesty to be content that the same may be folowed to the ende, with all the hast that may be; for as it is our duties to let your highnes understande the trowth, so we must neds say, that albeit your majestie hath ben at grete charge, and as moch don for the same as coulde be in so shorte tyme, yet we see not that the towne is of any more strength then it was before the works began; but as it was of litle or no strength before, so is it at this present of such wekenes, as if thenemye knew thadvantage thereof, it were easily surprised, which uppon the view of the place may well be perceyved. We referre the better explanacion thereof to the said sir Rafe secretarie, who can better expresse the same to your majestie then we can write it. For

* The duke of Norfolk was sent accordingly.

the help whereof, we wish that it may please your majestie this next yere to bestowe asmoche uppon these fortificacions as hathe ben spent here these ij yeres before, wherewith we thinke your highnes towne wilbe closed, and put in such strength as the enemye can not have that advantage. In the meane season, we see not but your majestie must be at charge with the greter garrisons of men, which after the towne is in strengthe may be abated, as to your highnes shalbe thought convenient. Aug. 28, 1559.

No. XVI.

A Copie of the Scottishe Commissioners Commission.

Franciscus et Maria, Dei gratia rex et regina Francorum ac Scotorum, &c. Universis et singulis ad quorum notitias presentes littere pervenerint salutem. Cum superiori bello quod inter Scotos et Anglos gestum est multi utrinque capti sunt, quorum alii nulla habita ratione federis ab eo tempore initi etiamnum captivi delineantur carceribus inclusi; alii non prius ut ad suos remearent impetrare potuerunt quam cautione interposita aut saltem fide data de redditu carissent, quo fit ut perpetuam servitutem perpetiantur semperque in metu vivant incerti qua hora in dominorum potestatem redire cogantur. Accedit ad hec quod in conventibus publicis, que ad utriusque regni limites per gardianos ut jus reddant, haberi solent, inde etiam proveniat litium odii, et inimicitarum seges uberima cum alii alios prescriptis, verbis, et solemnibus quodam ritu publice notant, quod fidem fefellerint, cui malo mederi volentes atque id genus captivorum calamitatem miserati, utque hoc belli seminarium, priusquam altiores agat radices, funditus tollatur, commissarios ad id deligere statuimus, qui cum Anglis super ea redeliberent. Itaque de probitate, industria, et ergo nostra mandata fide delecti consanguinei nostri Jacobi comitis Bothwell, domini Haillis,*

* This was the infamous James earl of Bothwell, the original cause of all Mary's sufferings.

et Creichtoni, admiralli nostri; dilecti et fidi consilarii nostri Richardi Maitland de Lethingtoun, militis;† et dilecti nostri Walteri Ker de Cessurd,‡ militis gardiani mediarum marchiarum nostri regni versus Angliam, plurimum confidentes, eos et eorum duos fecimus, constituimus, creavimus, et ordinavimus, ac per presentes facimus, constituimus, creamus, et ordinamus. Dandis concedentis et committentis eisdem vel eorum duobus nostram plenam potestatem ac mandatum speciale cum serenissime regine Anglie sororis nostre commissariis sufficientem potestatem ad id habentibus, quibuscumque diebus et locis eis visum fuerit, conveniendi deliberandique et concludendi non modo super redemptione captivorum, protique libertatis, quo quisque soluto liberabitur, verumetiam super sarcien-dis injuriis que utrinque ab inito pacis federe aut indutiis sunt illate; utque premissa commodius fieri valeant serenissime regine Anglie commissarios et oratores antedictos eorumq. famulitia comitatus et sequelas in regno nostro sub fide publica toties quoties opus fuerit introducendi et humaniter tractandi indeq. salcos reducendi et generaliter alia onania et singula faciendi exercendique que in premissis, et circa ea necessaria aut aliquo modo oportuna fuerint, tametsi mandatum magis speciale quam presentibus est expressum, requirant, promittentes bona fide in verbo regio nos firma atque stabilia habituros omnia et singula quecunque in premissis aut aliquo eorum per nostros predictos commissarios vel duos eorum contigerint fieri conveniri ac concludi, nec unquam contraventuros, sed observaturos eodem inviolabiliter. In quorum fidem omnium et singulorum testimonium magnum sigillum nostrum presentibus manu charissime matris nostre Marie regine dotarie et regentis, nostri regni subscriptis apponi fecimus apud Edinburgh vicesimo octavo die mensis Augusti, anno Domini millesimo

† Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington and Thirlestane, the father of the celebrated secretary of queen Mary, and the no less able chancellor of king James VI. Sir Richard Maitland himself was a man of great talent, and a respectable poet. See his *Poems*, edited by Pinkerton in 1786. This venerable statesman and poet died in 1586, aged ninety years.

‡ Sir Walter Kerr of Cessford and Aldtonburn, ancestor of the dukes of Roxburgh. He was an active warrior and a powerful border baron, and died very old about 1584.

quingentesimo quinquagesimo nono, et regnorum nostrorum annis primo et decimo septimo.

No. XVII.

Sir RAFE SADLER to Secretary CECILL.

SIR,

I do perceyve by the quenes majesties lettres to me lastly addressed, that her highnes pleasure is I shoulde in this secret affayre use the counsaile and advise of sir James Croft, sir H. Percy,* or any other her majesties trustie servaunts here, at my choise. But in mynn opynyon, the fewer be pryvy to it the better. Onely I have hitherto joyned with sir James Croft in this matier, and so I intende to do still; praying you that such lettres as it shall please the quenes majestie, you, or the lords of the counsell to write hither in this matier, may be addressed and directed to him and me ioyntly, so that he may perceyve that we be ioyned together in this commission. Surely this busynes shalbe the better accomplished; for besyds that he is best acquainted with the matier, so is he a wise man, secret and diligent, both in this and all other things tending to the advauncement of the quenes majesties service. As for sir H. Percy, I saw him not yet; for he hathe not ben nere the fronteirs syns I cam hither, nor a good while before; nor do I judge him a man of such integryte as in any wise may be comparable to sir James Croft. And therle his brother,

* Sir Henry Percy, second son of sir Thomas Percy, who was executed in 1537 on account of Aske's rebellion, and brother of Thomas, seventh earl of Northumberland. Having remained attached to the queen, and even taken arms against the insurgents, in the great northern rebellion, headed by his brother and Westmoreland, he escaped one great peril, and succeeded to the family titles and domains upon his brother's execution, in 1572. But having engaged in lord Paget's enterprize for setting queen Mary at liberty, and being imprisoned, he shot himself through the heart to prevent the attainder and forfeiture which must have attended a conviction for treason.

I assure you, a very unmete man for that charge, which is comytted unto him here. I can not be close mouthed in such things, specyally when it standeth uppon thadvancement or hinderaunce of the quenes majesties service, trusting you woll take it in good parte, and iudge of me that I speke it for none other respect, but for my dueties sake to the quenes majestie, whose officirs and mynisters, specyally uppon this frontier, I wishe to be such as were most mete and hable to governe such a charge.

The direction of your paquet was, me thought, fondely wrytten by the clerke that wrote it, wherein he maketh me the quenes ambassadour resydent uppon the frontiers of Scotlande.* I thought to tell you of it, because it may be amended from henceforth. 29 August, 1559.

NO. XVIII.

Sir RAFE SADLER and Sir JAMES CROFT to Secretary CECILL.

SIR,

We have receyved your lettres of the xxiiijth of August; and as the matier and tyme woll serve, we shall not faile taccomplishe our comission in that parte with no lesse good will and diligence, then our bounden duetie requireth. But hitherto syns tharryval here of me, sir Rafe Sadler; we have harde nothing from the protestants, the cause whereof we iudge to be for that they be so farre of, or ells they are waxen very colde in their busynes; yet we understande that they have had soundry conventions aud meetings, both at Glasco and Sterling, though we know not certenly to what ende; but as we here from them, which we howrly loke for, so we shall procede with them, and advertise you thereof with diligence.

* Such a direction was inconsistent with th secrecy to be observed in the negociation with the reformers.

The French are newly arryved in the Fryth, which, as some say, be iiij or v enseignes; but the certen nombre is yet unknowen to us.* We thinke the sone will stirre up, and exasperate the protestants; orells if they suffer still, and forflowe their tyme, it is lyke er it be long they woll repent it, when they shall have litle remedie.

The lettres addressed to the duke of Chastellherault, I sir James Croft woll take ordre to sende unto him, I trust, in safetie, with as much spede as I can. Uppon tharryvall here of me the saide sir Rafe, we sent the quenes majesties lettres to the regent of Scotlande, by the pursyvaunt of this towne, and also therle of Northumberland; and we wrote to her to know her pleasure, both for her comissioners and our meting for the border matiers; and such answer as she hath made unto us in that part, you shall perceyve by the copie of her lettre which yon shall receyve herewith. Thus we leave to trouble you till we have other matier to wryte of; and so comytte you to the tuycion of Almightye God, &c. 29 Aug. 1559.

Postscripta. I sir James Croft receyved this lettre hereinclosed from Knox, answering somewhat to that I wrote to him of tharryval here of me the saide sir Rafe, and of our desyre to speke with Mr Henry Balthaves, or som other trustie man to be sent hither from them, as we wrote to you in our last lettres. You shall not muse that he calleth himself John Sinclear, for so his name is chaunged in all lettres, that passe betwixt me, the saide sir James and him, by both our agrements.

* This reinforcement of the queen-dowager's French forces, consisting of a thousand men, commanded by the Italian leader Octavian, were a part of a much larger reinforcement; but a tempest had dispersed the convoy, and driven many transports upon the coast. With this force the queen-regent immediately began to fortify Leith.

XIX.

Therle of Northumberland to Sir RALPH SADLER.

After my verie hartie comendacions unto you. I receyved lettres from my brother Slingisbie * fom Berwicke, before his going to Jedbrughe, to the daie of Trewes, that you declared unto hym, that ye had certen instructions from the quenes majestes, concernyng the house of the ladie Carnabie at Hexham, wherein she denyed the keaper of Tindale to have any easement of lodgeing ; and that you willed hym to advise me not to procede with any further intermedling in that matter, till suche tyme as I shuld here from you. Whereupon I have all this while staied lookinge for your direction, and as yet have receyved none advertisement from you in that behalf. Nowe foras moche as the usage of that matter by the said ladie and her frendes hathe bene and is suche evell example of disobedience to thauctoritie, that thereupon undoubtedly may, and will ensue more inconveniente then is sufferable, as partlie by experience is proved ; I shall therefore desire you, that I may knowe the quenes majestes pleasure, and your dyrection therein. So that I may thereupon dischargd myself of my duetie as shall apperteigne, and as to your wisdoms shall seame good. And thus I bid you most hartlie fare well. From Warkworthe, the xxixth of August, 1559.

Your assured loving frend,

NORTHUMBERLAND.

Superscription.—*To my verie lovinge frende sir Rauf Sadler, knight at Berwick, geve this in hast, hast, post hast, with all possible diligence, hast, hast. Delivered at Warkworthe, the xxixth of August, at eleven of the klok before noone.*

* Sir Francis Slingsby of Scriven and Redhouse, in Yorkshire. This gentleman married Mary, sister of the earl of Northumberland, and was the ancestor of the present sir Thomas

No. XX.

Therle of Northumberland to Sir RALPH SADLER.

After my verie hartie comendacions unto you. Having receyved lettres from my lordes of the counsell directed unto you and me, copies whereof do sende you herein closed. And upon your advertisement and opinion in that behalf, I shalbe redie ymediately thereupon to discharge the footmen at Warke. And so I byd you hartlie fare well. From Warkworth the xxxth of August, 1559.

Your assured loving frend,

NORTHUMBERLAND.*

To my verie loving frend sir Rauff Sadler, knight, at Berwicke. Geve this in hast, hast, post hast, with all diligence possible. Delivered at Warkeworth the xxxth of August, at nyne of the cloke before none.

Copy of Lettre from Lords of the Privy Council.

After our very hartie comendacions to your good lordships. Where we have bene moved by lettres from sir James Crofts, that fiftye soldiours of captain Reads† bande remayninge at Warke, mighte be removed to Berwicke, and joyned to the rest of the said captain Reads bande servinge there. For so muche as we do not certynlie knowe the presente stait of that peice, and what nombers are requisit to remayne there, we have thoughte good, bothe to referre the consideracion unto you of that

Turner Slingsby, Bart. He appears, from a subsequent letter of Sir Ralph to Cecill, to have been keeper of Tynedale; and it was therefore his convenience, which the earl consulted in his anxious desire to possess him of the lady Carnabies' house in Hexham.

* Seal, a lion rampant—*Esperance en Dieu.*

† This captain Read is mentioned by Hollinshed, as having distinguished himself in the war which was concluded in 1550.

shalbe fit to be done, for the sawfgard of the said peice, not doubtinge withall but you will have that reguarde to the defence and sawfgard of Barwicke as the same, being the quenes principall piece, and of greatest moment there, doth require. And also we praye you to call before you sir Raphe Greye, † to whome thinheritance of Warke apperteyneth, and to chardge hym both to make his repaire to that castell, and to follow also such ordre for the suretie therof, as beinge agreable to his covenants, whan he was restored to the same, shalbe by you prescribed unto hym. And then (in case you shall think it so convenient) you maye cause the said fiftie soldyours presentlie serving there to be removed to Berwicke to ioyne with the rest of there company, according to the said motion. And thus we bid your lordship right hartelie farewell. From Hampton Court, the xxv. of August, 1559,

Your good assured and loving frends,

ARRUNDALL.

E. ROGERS.

THO. PARY.

W. CECILL.

To oure verie good lorde the erle of Northumberland, warden of thest and mydell marches for anempst Scotland; and to our verie loving frend sir Rauff Sadler, knight.

No. XXI.

Therle BOTHVILL and his Colleags, Commissioners of Scotland, to therle of Northumberland and his Colleags, Commissioners of England.

After oure hartlie commendacions. Quhare as it hes plesit the quenis grace to gif comissioun unto us to meit with you, for treating of sic af-

† Sir Ralph Grey, lord of the castle, manor, and villa of Wark, which he derived from a long line of ancestors, was high-sheriff of Northumberland in the 5th of queen Elizabeth, and died seized of these and other extensive possessions in the tenth year of her

faïres as hes bene thought necessary for thintertenymment of the peax, alsweill be the quenis maïestie your soverane, as the quenis hienes our maïsteres, conforme to the lettres past betuix yame. This present salbe to gyf you advertisment, that, according to our said maïsteres commandment, we salbe redde to meit you at our Lady Kirk the v day of September nixt, to cum for that effect, desiring you to send us warnyng with this berar, gif ye will keipe tryste that day. At quhilk tyme, God willing, ye sall weill persave in us ane gude inclinationn to iustice and combination of amyte betuix thir realmes. Thus we commit you to the protection of God. At Edinburgh ye penult day of August, 1559.

Your loving freyndis in lefull maner,

BOITHWILL.

RICHART MAITLAND.

WALTER KER of Cessurd.

No. XXII.

*A Mynute of a Lettre to the Lords of the Congregation in Scotland, ment to have been sent to them, but afterwards upon other Causes stayed.**

After due commendacions unto your good lordships. We be most hertelie sorie to understonde, that your godly enterprise, tending principallie to the advauncement of Goddes glorie, and next to the safe garde and defence of your naturall countrey from the conquest of the French nacion, is thus infortunatly stayed and interrupted, which we

reign.—See Wallis' Northumberland, Vol. II. p. 464. It would seem there had been some interruption in the possession of this fortress, by the hereditary Castellan, which was restored to him by queen Mary, and was to be held by the border tenure of watch and ward.

* This seems to have been the "comfortable letter," which, in conformity to Cecil's advice, was to have been dispatched to the reformed nobles: perhaps it was stopped in consequence of the arrival of Arran, by means of whom the necessary encouragement might be orally transmitted to the congregation, with less chance of committing queen Elizabeth, as a fomentor of the Scottish insurrection.

assure you greveth us no lesse then if the case were our owne ; and therefore we cann no lesse do, then give you our poure advises not to shrynke from that ye have enterprised, neither yelding to feare nor vayn persuasions, but stoutly and honourablie to ioyne and knytte yourselfs fast and firmly together, and specially to have good regarde that ye be not, thorough false practises or otherwise, attrapped or betrayed into your enemyes hands, and to use all good meanes to allure and persuade the hole nobilite of the realme, or as many as you can, to take parte with you ; whereunto their naturall love to their countrey ought to induce them, rather than to suffer the violent conquest of the French, which undoubtedly do meane to subverte and extinct the native blood of Scotlande, inheritable to the same if the French quene, your sovereign, should dye without yssue, and to annexe that realme perpetually to the crowne of Fraunce, which we thinke all trew Scottish men shoulde naturally detest and abhorre, and, whills tyme serveth, ought to prevent and forsee the same. And for your helpe and defence in that behalf, be ye most assured that ye shall not lacke ayde, both of money and otherwise, out of Englande, more then hitherto hath bene mencyoned or promised ; for ye may assure your selfs, that if ye will nobly and stoutly debate your owne cause, and pursue your enterprise as to men of honour and good courage aperteyneth, as ye shall lacke no such helpe and ayde of us to that effect, as ye can reasonably requyre, so, rather then the French shoulde have their willes over you, and bring you to subjection, you may be sure that Englande woll shew her self your frende, and an open ennemye to your adverse partie. This we write not to you without good commission, and therefore it may please you to give firme credence to the same, and to sende som trustie man hither to conferr with us in this matier, by whom we may understonde your lordships determynate mynde and pleasure therein, with as moche spede as you may convenyently.*

* It seems to be the joint work of sir Ralph Sadler and sir James Crofts. The writing sir Ralph's.

No. XXIII.

Mr CECILL to Sir RALPH SADLER and Sir JAMES CROFTS.

SIR,

Sence your lettres of the 20 of this moneth, we never hard from you, which tyme we have thought very long.

To morrowe shall pass hence in post the erle of Arrein,* and with him cometh maister Randall.† Wherfore it is thought very necessary that the duke be advertised, to the end at his coming he maye not be knowen; for in dede there dependeth much matter theruppon. He is very desirous to speke with you Mr Sadler. Wheruppon I have willed Randall to wryte by post from Borrobridg, that Mr Raylton‡ or suche lyke might mete hym abowt Anwyke, to impart further of your mynd unto hym.

I have wrytten this lettre in Mr Crofts ciphre; but for better suerty and more ease to both partes hereafter, I will send you an other ciphre by the next post; and for this tyme bidd you well to fare.

La Bross and the B. of Amyens be passed by the west seas with iiij^{xx} (80) horsees and 200 footemen. The quenis majestie is clere of hir agew. I am sorry to advertise you of the deth of sir John Brend in Norfolk, and sir Tho. Carden here at Horsley. *Ingressi sunt*

* Decyphered.

† Thomas Randal or Randolph, often called by the assumed name of Barnabie, was an able and intelligent agent of queen Elizabeth, well fitted to conduct the secret intrigue with the associated barons. He appears to have accompanied Arran to Berwick, and after some short time, to have followed him into Scotland upon that nobleman's request. He may be therefore considered as the resident envoy of Elizabeth to the congregation. Randolph occasionally corresponded directly with the queen's council, (See HAYNES, Vol. I. p. 236. 241.) but chiefly through the medium of sir Ralph Sadler and sir James Crofts.

‡ Raylton seems to have been a sort of private secretary or decypherer.

viam universe carnis. From Hampton Court, the 31 of August, 1559.

Your assured frend to command,

W. CECILL.

*To myn honourable frends, sir Raff Sadler and
sir James Crofts, knights, at Barwyk.*

No. XXIV.

Mr CECILL to Sir RALPH SADLER.

SIR,

By my lettres of the 31 sent by the ordinary post, I sent you word of his comming,* that with this sendeth his owne lettre to advertise you where he is at the wryting, and by what tyme he shall come nigh you, and consequently that ye maye send some one to mete and conferr with hym touchyng his passage. I beseche you take some care hereof, that it may be doone suerly and secretly. Wheruppon much good maye ensue. From Hampton Court, the 31 of August, 1559.

Yours to command,

W. CECIL.

*To sir Raff Sadler, the quenes majesties embas-
sador uppon the frontiers, or at Barwyk.*

*For the quenes affayres. Hast, hast, hast,
post. † W. CECILL.*

* i. e., Of Arran's coming, to which we see so much consequence attached.

† Both letter and direction are in Cecill's own hand-writing.

No. XXV.

Sir RALPH SADLER to thearl of Northumberland.

I have receyved your lordships lettres of the xxixth of this present, by which I understonde, that Mr Slingsbie hath signefied unto your lordship, that I declared unto him that I had certen instructions from the quenes majestie concerning the lady Carnabies house at Hexham, and that I willed him to advise you not to procede with any further intermedling in that matier untill you shoulde here from me. For answer whereunto, trew it is, I shewed Mr Slingsbie that I had commission for the purpose aforesaide, and therefore prayed him to shew your lordship, that my desire was it might please you to stay therein untill I might conferre and speke with you meself. Supposing that because the matier requireth no haste, I shoulde have tyme ynough before my going out of the countrey so to order the matier uppon my conference with your lordship, as might best advance the quenes majesties service in that behalf, without any iniurie or iniustice offred or don to any partie. In dede, I have the quenes majesties lettres to the saide lady Carnabie, conteyning no commandement, but a gentill request unto her for the lending of her house at Hexham to the keper of Tyndale; and yet it pleased the quenes majestie to committe the matier to my discession, ether to delyver or not to delyver her highnes lettres to the saide lady Carnabie, as I should see cause. Wherein, to say my pour mynde unto your lordship, lyke as I do not thinke my lady Carnabies house at Hexham to be so propire and mete a place for good service to be don by the keeper of Tyndale, as dyvers other places are, so it were to grete an iniurie to wrest the same from her without her consent and good will; specially considering that she being a poure widowe, and a nother gentilwoman,* also a poure wi-

* Her daughter, as we afterwards learn.

dow, being there with her, and their famelie have none other place to bestowe themselves in. And well I know it is not the quenes majesties pleasure that any such extremyte, or iniustice, shoulde be mynistered to any of her highnes subiects. Besides that, I assure your lordship, whosoever being keper of Tyndale shall desyre to lye in Hexham for the better execucion of that office, I can not iudge otherwise of him, but that he rather seketh thereby his own ease and commodyte, then the service of the quenes majestie, or the stay and quyetnes of the countrey. And where your lordship writeth of the disobedience of the lady Carnabie and her frends in this parte to be such towards thauctoryte, as may brede more inconvenyence then is sufferable, it is mete, if any such matier be proved against them, that they be called to answer thereunto, and to be ordered for the same as equite and iustice shall require. But this I must neds say, that if thaauthoryte do commande or require any thing that is uniust, or contrary to law and equite, I can the lesse blame the partie that doth refuse or denye the same; for no mans auctoryte extendeth so farre as to do any wrong or iniustice; but he that so doth, rather abuseth thauctoryte committed unto him, then shew himself indifferent in the due execucion of his office. And if any man giveth your lordship advise or counsaile otherwise, eyther he hath small consideracion and respect to your honour, orells for lacke of knowledge doth that in him is not a litle to touch and empaire the same. Beseching your good lordship to bere with my playnes, wherein I meane not to offend you, but I assure you do love and esteme your honour a grete dele more then they, whatsoever they be, which by their undiscrete advise do rather go about to dishonour you, and to deface your auctoryte, then in any wise to mayntene and preserve the same; as when I may speke with your lordship, I shall more at length shew you my poure mynde in that behalf.

Fynally, I have receyved your other lettres of the xxx of this present, with also the copie of the lettres addressed to your lordship and me from the lords and others of the quenes majesties privy counsaile,

touching the remove of capitayne Reads souldiours from Warke to this towne of Berwick. And for that matier, because the same may be don at all tymes as we shall see cause, and agayn for that we have to conferre with sir Rauf Grey according to the purporte of the saide lettres, I thinke it best, if your lordship thinke so good, to stay the remove of the said souldiours untill you may have som occasion to repayre hither, at which tyme the said sir Rafe Grey may be called afore you, and commanded to bring with him the counterpayn of thinden- tures made betwixt our late sovereign lady quene Mary and him when he was restored to his inheritance, and then we shall take order in that matier accordingly. If my business in this towne were not such as I cannot yet go hens without offence of my duetie, I wold ells waite uppon your lordship in any other place where you shoulde appoynte for that purpose. Thus, &c. Aug. 31, 1559.

No. XXVI.

*A Pasporte for Mr BARNYBY and Mons. de BEAUFORT.**

ELIZABETH R.

Whereas this bearer, Thomas Barnaby, gent. appoynted to accompany one mons^r. de Beaufort, a gentelman of our good brother the French kingis, sent in to Scotland to our good sister the quene dow- agier, there do at this present passe with our good favour and licence thorough this our realme into Scotland; we will and commande you, not only to suffer the saide mons^r. de Beauforte and Thomas Barnaby quietly to passe by you with their baggs, baggage, and necessaries, without any your serche, let, or trouble, bothe going and commyng, but also to see them favorably used by the way, and furnished of

* These are the fictitious names assumed by Thomas Randall and the earl of Arran in their secret journey to Scotland.

there hable post horses, and of all other thingis that they shall nede for their reasonable money, whereof we require you not to faile as you tender our pleasure, and will aunswere for the contrary at your perills. And thies our lettres shalbe your sufficient warraunt in this behalf. Geven under our signet, at our honour of Hampton Courte, the last of August, the first yere of our reign.

To all mayours, sherieffs, bailiffs, constables, customers, comptrollers, and serchours, to our wardens and under wardens of our marches for anempst Scotlande, and to all other our officers, ministers, and subiects, to whom in this case shall apperteyn. CECILL.

No. XXVII.

To all Ballywes, Constables, Hedborrowes, and to all the Quenes Majesties Posts.

Although it nedeth not to requyre any more favor for the furdurance of theis gentillmen, having the quenis majesties especiall passport, yet, because I knowe there iorney requireth expedition, I doo recommend them to you, praying you to lett them perceve that my commendation do them plesure in there jornay. From Hampton Court, the 31 of August, 1559.

W. CECILL.

No. XXVIII.

Therle of Northumberland to Sir R. SADLER and Sir JAMES CROFT.

After my right hartie comendacions unto you. Hereinclosed ye shall receyve a lettre sent to you and me from the commissioners of

Scotland touchinge the daie of oure metinge, whiche for that adlaie of trewes speciall for delivery of all suche bills as are fyled in the mydle marches, is appointed on Thursdaie next at Hexpethe Gaitehead, wher-upon dependethe moche of the furtheraunce or utter delaie of redresse; and that in this commyssion is named bothe therl Bothvile, and the lard of Cessorde, who shuld make the said deliverance. I doubt yf oure meting be the same daie by them appointed, that it will frustrate and delaie the other appointed day, which I wold not, because that delivery, if it shall procede, must be for the benefyt of Englande; and yf they shall delay it, or not performe there appointment therein, there meanyns shall the better appere unto us. And also we may at our metinge with commysioners therebie the better understande what is to be treated on in that behalfe. I have therefore thought it good to make thanswere to there lettre inclosed, if the same shall seame good unto you, and that ye will signe the same, and let it passe in that sorte; or yf for any other consideracions ye shall thinke other answare more convenient, what soever ye shall devyse therin and answare unto them shall well content me, and upon your advertisement I shalbe redie to attende the metinge according to youre appointment, wherein you may advertise them, that for as moche as I did not understonde howe your busines wold spare you to kepe the daie and place, that thanswere of there lettre was therefore referred unto you. And so I comit you to Almightye God. From Warkworth, the iij^d of September, 1559.

Your assured loving frende,

NORTHUMBERLAND.

Post script. Yf ye thinke this answare to passe in this sorte, remember to put in such daie as ye shall think good, and advertise me thereof.

No. XXIX.

Therle of Northumberland to Sir RALPH SADLEIR.

After my right hartie commendacions unto you. I have receyved your lettre of the last of August. Amongest other conteynyng answers of myne owne lettres unto you, touchinge the ladie Carnabies house, at Hexhame, wherebie it seameth unto me, that your mynde is not that the keper of Tindale shulde have any ease of lodginge in the same. But moche to the contrarie, ye thinke the place not so propre and mete as other places are for that purpose; and that it is to great an injurie to wrest the same from hir without hir good will, being two wedowes withowt any other house to bestowe themselves in: and that the keper of Tindale is desirouse to be there, seketh rather his owne ease, then the advancement of the quenes maiesties service, and quietnes of the countrie. And that where I thought the disobedience used in that case, might brede more inconvenience then is well suffrable. You seame to thinke that I have so moche abused my auctorite therein, that the denyall and ganesaying thereof is none offence in the parties, and that suche as have advised me therein, either lack good consideration and knowledg, or els have small respect to the maintenance and preservacione of thauctorite and honour of the same; in whiche thinges, as I do knowe your experience and consideration to be singular good and perfite, even so do I well perceyve that all thies conjectures came not thereof, but upon such report and informacione, as wold rather have the matter of itself by you misconceyved, than well accepted. For as for the place, whether it be most mete and propice, it hathe bene considered not of any rashe or sodeyne determynacione, but with suche deliberat advise, of those as shulde best knowe, and have also most just cause to wishe the good government of that countrie, as with reason cannot be advoyded, oneles other houses then be nowe present, were buylded, or repared for the purpose. And

whether the same hath been sought at hir handes, to have with hir good will, by asmoche gentle meanes as could be devysed, hir self can reporte. And seing that othere officers have before this tyme had there lyinges there, it is great marvell that now, at my desire, she cannot spare so moche as to serve hym; where indede half, or a great deale lesse, then hath been occupied by other men, wold suffice: and yet at no tyme before, she was not harde to compleane for hir self nor hir famylie, nor to lack any easement of lodginge, nor yet neded at all for any thinge that shuld have bene taken from hir, or hir doughter, for this purpose, yf other thinges that I knowe did not meave hir to this obstinacie. In that you do thinke the keper in this case to seke his ease, rather then discharge of his dewtie in thoffice, I must therein be plaine with you, that he that is keper myndeth not, nor hath not in tyme of his exercise thereof sought his ease, nor yet so spared the execution of his charge in any behalf; but that I have good cause to seke his placeinge in the most convenient sorte. And, therefore, that informacione, who so ever made unto you, is grounded upon suche malice and untreuthe, as I could wishe well to be perceyved. And for the abusinge myne auctoritie in that behalf, and the usinge of evell advice therein, after all gentle perswasions by them wilfully and obstinatlie reiected, I have used but onelie suche gentle requestes and commandementes, as hath bene in the like cases, and as officers must do in the semblabell. I am well assured, whiche thinge happelie shalbe as moche herme in other mens handes to be suffèred, as the present greaff can be unto me; and for the advice, if any suche were, I tak it as it is to be imputed, not to the gever, but to hym that can not deserve the good from the other. And yet as moche advice as was had in that matter, was not by fewe persons, nor in secrete. And fynally, where in your saide lettres ye do saie, that ye knowe it is not the quenes maiesties pleasure that eny extremytie, or injustice, shuld be mynystered to eny of hir highnes subiectes, as I am assured, that no suche hath bene offred by me to any maner of person of malice or purpose; and sorie I am that you or other shuld conceyve other openyon

of me; even so in this case I mynde not to beare the contempte and despite offred unto me, and that, as I take Godd to witnes, for none other cause speciall, but that thauctorite shall not, in my hande, be so moche defaced. And yf the quenes maiestie, and hir highnes counsell, wold thinke that I shuld so beare it, (whiche I suppose verelie they will not,) I shuld take my selfe therein for the litell service and paines taken in this office, (whiche I must confesse to be little worthie,) verey evell rewarded, wherein as I do make full accompt of your assured frendshipe, in maters of more ymportaunce, yf I shall have nede; even so in this I shall desire your indeferent favour, withowt affectione to any partie, as occasione and oportunitie may serve: as you shalbe well assured to have any pleasure that I shalbe abell to do you. And thus I comit you to Almyghtie God. From Warkworth, the third of September, 1559.

Your assured loving frend,

NORTHUMBERLAND.

No. XXX.

Secretary CECILL to Sir RALPH SADLER.

SIR,

I have no other thyng presently to wryte, but that I am departyng from this court for 10 or 12 days to Stamford,* where I will lye in wayte for all your lettres, and forstall them, as the quene hath licensed me; because, if the maters require my presence at the court, I maye repayre with them to the court, if not to abyde out my tyme.

I send you herinclud a ciphre for Mr Crofts, and presently for you. I thynke ye can, of your old experience, fynd it out. The

* Near which was his house of Burleigh, from which he took a title so well known in English history.

quenes maiestie is clere from hir suspected ague. We here that the lord Sheffield is drowned in Staffordshyre. 5th September, in hast.

Yours, assured,

W. CECILL. -

The gret pacquett is the French Embassadours, which I praye you send as sone as it may conveniently.

*To the right honorable Sir Raphe Sadler, knight,
the quenes maiesties embassadour toward Scot-
land.*

No. XXXI.

Sir RAFE SADLER to therle of NORTHUMBERLAND.

These shalbe to signefie unto your lordship, that uppon the receipt of your lettres for the 3d of September, with thothers from the commissioners for Scotlande, sir James Croft and I did ymedyately dispece the Scottish heraul with the lettres signed by your lordship, whereunto the saide sir James and I did also subscribe, and appoynted our day of meting to be on Monday next, requyring the saide heraul that he wolde, in our name, desyre the saide commissioners to advertise us before that tyme, whether they wolde observe and kepe that day, or appoint any other, whereof I thinke they woll advertise your lordship, praying you that if they so do, it may please you to let Mr Croft and me understonde the same by the post; and if they sende any advertisement thereof hither unto us, we shall in lyke wise signefie the same to your lordship undelayedly; trusting that you woll take the payne to be here a day or ii before the day of meting, to thintent we may consider our commission and instructions, and conferre together uppon such matier as we shall treate of.

As concerning my lord Carnebies house, I am sory to understonde that your lordship is so earnest in that matier, without any ground or

cause reasonable. And where as your lordship taketh it, that all that I wrote to your lordship therein, proceedethe uppon conjectures and informacions, surely you are moche deceyved; for albeit I know not the state of this country so well as many others do, yet I am not so ignorant but that I know which placis be most apt and mete for the service of the keper of Tyndale; and who so ever sayeth that Hexham is a convenyent place for it, I say he understondeth not what aper-tayneth to that service.* Mary, as I wrote to your lordship, so I saye agayn, that if the keper of Tyndale woll rather seke his ease and comodyte than the well executing of his office, then, indede, Hexham is a mete place for his purpose; and this I wryte not uppon any informacion made to me, groundeduppon malice and untrouth, but for that I do know, and have knowen every day this xx yeres, as well as Mr Slingsby doth, what placis be most mete for the service of the keper of Tyndale, or for any other service to be done in this country, for the stay and quyetnes of the same. Nevertheles, because your lordship is so earnest in the matier, I woll contende no further with you by wryting, but shall referre the same till I may speke with your lordship myself, trusting that you will give me leave to execute my commission in that matier, as I have receyved it from the quenes majesty. And so I comytte your lordship to the tuncione of Almighty God, &c. September 5th, 1559.

* When lord Wharton proposed that there should be a lord-warden-general for transacting all border affairs, he also proposed he should reside at Hexham: but, though a central spot, considered with reference to the borders at large, it was less so when viewed with respect to Tynedale alone.

No. XXXII.

THO. RANDOLPH, *alias* BARNABIE, *to* Sir R. SADLER.

Yt may please your honour tunderstand, that the gentleman * and I are this morninge here arrived at Anwicke, dissyeringe that we may knowe your pleasure at the nexte post, where we intende to attende the same. Most humbly I tayke my leave. From Antwicke this present Wensdaye, at ix of the clocke, *beyng the 6th of September, 1559.*

Your honours, to command,

THO. RANDOLPH, *alias* BARNABY.

*To sir Raf Sadler, the quenes maiesties embassadour
upon the frontiers, or at Barwicke.*

*For the quenes affairs, hast, hast, post hast, hast
for thie lyf, hast.*

No. XXXIII.

*The Commissioners for Scotland to Therle of Northumberland, and his
Collegis, Commissioners of England.*

Eftir oure maist hartlie comendations unto your lordship. We have ressavit your writtings of the dait at Berwik, the ferd of this instant, makand mention that ye nicht not keip the first day appunctit be us to meit at oure Lady Kirk, for certane affaris and besynes alreddy ordanit be you afore oure writting, and uthair causses contenit in your last lettir, quhilk ansuer we accept in gude parte; howbeit we ar sumparte disappunctit of oure first meting; nochttheles we sall, God willing, meit yow at oure Lady Kirk, upon Mounday nixt, the xj of

* The earl of Arran.

this instant of September, at x hourris afore none, or thairby; and thair sall june with yow in all mataris conforme to our commissionis, to the rest and quietnes of baith the realms, and liegis thair of. And thus we committ yow to Almyghty God. From Milross, the vij of September, 1559.

Your loving freyndes in lefull maner,

BORTHUELL.

RECHART MAITLAND.

WALTER KER, of Cesfurd.

*To the richt honorable erle of Northumberland,
and his collegis, comissionaris of Ingland, &c.*

No. XXXIV.

Sir RALPH SADLER and Sir JAMES CROFT to Mr Secretary CECILL.

SIR,

We doubt not but ye have ben in som expectacion to here from us, and we have thought it as long to have somwhat whereof to advertise you. Now at the last Mr Balnaves arryved here on Wednesday last, at midnight, from the lords of the congregacion, and yesterday, in the morning, we communid with him at good length, who, because he had never before conferred with me, sir Ralph Sadler, in that matier, made me a hole discourse, at my request, of all their proceedings from the begynning, agreable in all poynts with such advertisements as you have had heretofore. And now he sayeth that they intende to revive the matier, for that the regent hathe not observed tharticles of their last agreement,* but hath infringed the same, aswell in that she hath set up

* In the armistice agreed upon at the Links of Leith, 24th July, 1559, by which it was covenanted, on the part of the reformers, 1. That the town of Edinburgh should use what religion they pleased: 2. That no one should be prosecuted for their religious tenets: 3. That no garrison should be placed in Edinburgh: A cause of dispute occurred, concern-

the masse again in thabbey of Holy Rodehouse, which they had before suppressed; as also in that the French men do remayn still, and a more nombre sithens arryved, wherewith he sayeth all Scotland is moche moved. And also a new matier they have to burden her with for her misgovernement, in that she abased the congregacion, without consent of the counsaile, to the greif and impoverishment of their comon welth. For these matiers he sayeth they wol begyn agayn, and wolde have don at this tyme, but sondry causes, he sayeth, they had to protract the tyme in pursuing hereof, whereby they have rather grete advantage than hinderaunce. One for that the regent, by her policie, devised to stirre James M^cDonell, and others of the Scottish Irishrie, agens therle of Argyle, to thintent the same erle might be so occupied at home in defence of his country, as he shoulde have no tyme tattende this matier; wherefore it behoved him to go home for the stay thereof, which he hathe now so well ordered, as the regent shalbe clerely frustrate and deceyved of her expectacion in that behalf. A nother cause is, for that harvest is late with them this yere, and if they shoulde have assembled any power in the felds, it coulde not otherwise be but that a grete distruction must have ensued of the fruts of the erth, which wolde have gretly moved the people agens them.

Agayn during this meane tyme they have had their prechers abroad in the realme, which, by their preching and doctrine, have so woonne and allured the people to their devocion, as he sayeth their power is now double that it was, in the cause of religon; and such as yet be not fully persuaded therto, bere, nevertheles, such hatred to the Frenchmen, as he thinketh in maner the hole realme favoureth their partie. And also he sayeth, that in this protract of tyme, practises have ben used, and conferences had both with the duke, therle of Huntley, and others. And the duke persuaded so farre, that he hathe promised to coom no more at the regent, ne to take any parte with her; the rest he

ing the possession of the High Church of St Giles, which the queen desired to retain for the exercise of the Catholic worship.

woll referre to the coming home of his soon, who, he sayeth, may take the matier in hande, if he himself list, to be sicke or lame, and to wyinke at the matier. And here the saide Balnaves semed to be gretely desyrus of the coming home of the saide dukes son, who in dede was nerer him then he was ware of. The lyke promise, he sayeth, they have obtayned of therle of Huntley, and be in good hope that he woll manyfest himself on their syde; others also they have woonne, as he sayeth, to their partie, which be the best borderers of the Marche and Twydale, which in dede have their prechers amongst them; and though som of tholder sorte do draw backe, yet having young and lustie gentilmen to their soones, they are content to let them follow their purpose, and dissemble the matier themselves with the regent. These advauntages, sayeth Belnaves, have they gotten by this protract of tyme: and now assone as their harvest is at good poynt, they woll assemble all the power they can make; for which purpose the lords of the congregacion do mete and convene, as he sayeth, the xth or xijth of this moneth at Striveling; where, he sayeth, they be in good hope to here of som good ayde and comforte at the quenes majesties handes, for the which purpose they had now sent him unto us. When he had sayde that he wolde, we tolde him, that they might assure themselves that the quenes majestie, and all the lords of her highnes consaile, did so moch tender their cause, as they wolde be no lesse sory then they themselves, if the same shoulde not take good effect; and such ayde and comforte as her highnes might minister unto them, without touche of her honour, and breach of the peax, which she now hath both with Fraunce and Scotlande, they might be sure to have it at her graxis hands. Marry, we tolde him they were wise men, and could consyder, aswell as we, what might be don by her highnes in that behalf, considering that albeit their cause was grounded uppon a good and godly foundacion, to extirpe idolatry, and to advaunce Cristes trew religion; and also for the preservation of the freedom of their countrey, and to delyver the same from foreyn governement, as in conscience they are bounde to do: yet the worlde can make nae other

exposycion of it, but that they be as it were a faction gathered together, contending agenst thauctoryte: and how the quenes maiestic may seame to maynteyne them in such a case, we doubted not but he, being a wise man, coulede wey the same as depely as we did. He confessed all that we sayed to be trew, and wished that the quenes majestie shoulde remayn still in peax, which he sayed shoulde also serve better for their purpose, than if we were in the warres; for that if we were in the warre, they coulede then fynde no faulte with the comyng of the French men into Scotlande, which might say they cam to defende our countrey; but now, being in peax, all Scotlande may, and doth well perceyve, that they com rather to make a conquest of them than for any other cause. And in theyr conferences, he sayeth, they have considered asmoch as we sayed unto them. And therefore whatsoever pretence they make, the principall marke they shote at, is, he sayeth, to make an alteracion of the state and auctoryte, to thintent the same being established as they desyre, they may then enter into open treate with her majestie, as the case shall requyre. This, he sayeth, is very secret, and if the duke woll take it uppon him, they meane to bestowe it there; or if he refuse, his son is as mete, or rather more mete for the purpose. In the meane season he sayed they trusted, and the lords of the congregacion were in good expectacion, that her highnes wolde comforte them with som secret ayde of money; and because they had spent a grete dele of theyr substaunce in maynteyning and keping all this while, certen bands of souldiours, for their more strength and suretie, to their no litle impoverishing; if they might now have such reliefe at her majesties hands, as wolde kepe together m. (1000) harquebusters, and iij^s (300) horsemen, for ij or iij monethes, besydes such power as they trust to make at their own charge, they woll eyther achieve their enterprise, or spende their lyves in the pursute thereof.

Uppon this we resolved with him, that in dede there was none other way for the quenes majestie to relieve or comforte them, but with

money; which, if it might be don with such secresie as the case doth requyre, we sayed we doubted not but her majestie so moch tendereth theyr case and godly action, as they might and shoulde taste of her liberalyte and goodnes in that parte. And here I, sir Ralph Sadler, put him in remembraunce how liberall the king, her majesties father, had bene afore tyme to the nobilite of Scotlande, as he knew, and how litle they considered it;* and also, that they used therein no secresie at all. He confessed it to be trew; but he sayed the case is now moch otherwise than it was then, for then we sought of them, and now they seke of us; and, quoth he, we be so farre alredy entered into this matier, that though we have no ayde at all at your hands, we must neds, for owre suretie, eyther go through with it, or lose our lyves; and so we be fully bent and purposed to do. And, quoth he, for the secresie of the matier, if it please the quenes majestie to ayde us according to our desyre, it shalbe so secret, that none, except a few which be of the privie counsaile, amongst us shall know any other but that the *force* is levied of the benevolence of the hole congregacion.

To com to thende of this long talke, the rehersall of the hole whereof were superfluous, we sayed that the yere was so farre spent, that we thought one moneths wagis for thenterteynment of such souldiours as they desyred wolde suffice, which amounted to the poynt of xv^c.li. (1500l.). He answered, that the tyme was nothing at all spent for their purpose, for the wynter is best for them, and worst for the French men; but within ij moneths he trusted the matier wolde be tried. And so fynally we graunted them m.m.li. (2000l.), which we sayed we wolde spare them of the pay our souldiours here shoulde receyve at this tyme; and doubted not but the quenes majestie, if she shoulde perceyve the same to be so employed by them, as theyr cause may be well advaunced, and her honour untouched, she wolde in that case shew herself more liberall unto them, wherein we pray you helpe, that

* Alluding to the negociations concerning the Scottish match, conducted by Sadler himself.

we may kepe promise, if the case so require. With thys the saide Balnaves was well satisfied, seming to take it in very thankefull parte; and we be resolved, that within these vj dayes they shall sende hither for the same by sea, and shall receyve it at Holy Ilande, wherein shalbe used as moch secrecie as is possible.

Thus have we adventured so moch of the quenes money, and surely by all likelihods and coniectures that we can conceyve, the same can not but be employed to good purpose. Others there be, as Kyrkauld^{*}, Ormeston[†] and Whitlaw, which, having spent moche for this matier, whereof they be earnest prosecutors, and for the same have bein capytaynes of bands in Scotland, have lost a xv or xvj monethes pay, which they shoulde now have had out of Fraunce, do loke for som reliefe, whereof, as we understonde, they have ben put in some hope; but because we have ben now so liberall of the quenes purse, albeit it pleased her majesty to comytte the same to the discrecion of me, the saide sir Rafe, yet we wolde be glad to know how her highnes lyketh or mislyketh that we have don, before we do any more.

Now, sir, all this while of our talke with Mr Balnaves, was therle of Arrayn here in the castell, the one of them not knowing of thother; for Balnaves came on Wenesday last at midnight; and therle, for whose secret conveyance hither we had taken order according to your lettres, cam in to the castell on Thursday morning before day, within three howres after Balnaves. We told first therle that Balnaves was here, and devised with him whether he wolde talke with him or not. After som consideracion whereof, because he wolde understonde the state of things in Scotlande, knowing Balnaves to be his assured frende, he resolved to speke with him, and so we brought them together. And Mr Balnaves, we assure you, semed to reioyce very moch of his commyng, and discoursed with him of the state of theyr countrey at good length; and in thende ordered that Balnaves shall kepe it secret,

* The renowned sir James Kirkaldy, laird of Grange.

† John Cockburn of Ormeston, much trusted by the reformers.

till therle shall disclose himself. And this last night the saide Balnaves departed hens secretely, as he cam, to Holy Islande;* and assone as the tyde will serve, goeth his way with such resolucion as is before declared. We are now devising for the secrete and sure conveying of therle, trusting to put him into Scotland by Tevydale, from whens he shalbe both secretely and safely conveyed to his father's house at Hamylton. We have no lesse care thereof, assure your self, then our dueties doth requyre, and woll do what we can therein for our lyves. Not doubting but ye shall shortly here that the same is well accomplished.

Thus have we troubled you with many words, and lytle matier, to your payn in the redyng, and ours in the wryting; praying you nevertheless, though we lacke witte, to do that we desyre, you woll helpe that the quenes majestie may accepte and take our good willes and well meaning in good parte, which shalbe our comforte. 8 of Sept. 1559.

No. XXXV.

Therle of Northumberland to Sir RALPH SADLER.

After my right hartie commendacions. Having presentlie receyved lettres from the lordes commissioners of Scotland, I sende you the same hereinlosed; and according to the contentes thereof I shall not faill, God willing, to be at Barwicke upon Sondaie by two of the cloke in the after none, of intent to advice with you in suche thinges as shall concerne the same meting. And so I bid you most hartlie fare well. From Warkworth, the ixth of Sept. 1559.

Your assured loving frend,

NORTHUMBERLAND.

* He probably came and returned by sea, from some part of the Fife coast.

No. XXXVI.

Mr Secretary CECILL to Sir RALPH SADLER and Sir JAMES CROFT.

After my hartie commendations. This xjth I have receaved yours of the viijth, and have, as by appoyntment it was ordered by the quenis majestie, redd the same here at my house nere Stamford, and sent the same to hir majestie, with my opinion that ye deserve commendation for your wise proceeding, and thanks also. I cam hyther on Frydaye last, and must depart on Saturdaye next, and meane to be at the court on Sundaye at night with Gods leave. I wold be gladd to here of the sure entry of Mons^r. de Beaufort;* ye knowe what erle I meane. I have wrytten to the court that lord Ormeston, Kircaldy, and Whytlaw, might have some releffe. Ye wryte nothing to me of the recept of a new ciphre, which I lately sent to you, wherein this I wryte. Therle of Arrayn borrowed of me at his being at London 200 crowns,† which he promised should be payed to you Mr Sadler for me. After some tyme passed, I praye you aske it of hym, and I will send you by some thorow post his bill. I thynk to be at the courte or your next lettres will come hence. And so I leave you, being my self now lyke a byrd out of the cadge. My lord admyrall and I meane to retorne by Standen on Sundaye at dynner. xjth Sept. 1559.

Yours most assured,

W. CECILL.

Endorsed, To the right honourable sir Raff Sadler and sir James Crofts, knights, at Berwick. For the quenes majesties affayres, from sir Wm. Cecill, her majesties secretary, hast, hast, hast for liffe, for liffe. Rec. at Newcastle the xiiij of Sept. at xj of the cloke before noone.

* The feigned name used in the earl of Arran's passport.

† The sum is in cypher, but appears from a subsequent letter (No. XLVII.).

No. XXXVII.

My Lord CLYNTON to Sir RALPH SADLER.

Aftar my most harty commendacyons unto you. Wher this berar is a seutar to syr Jamys Crofte, to be plasid captein of a band in Barwyk, wherin he hath sarvyd a good tyme, and very onestly, and hath obtaynyd lettars in his faver to Mr Crofte from som of the cownesell, I have thought good, for that you ar in thos parts, to requyer you to speke to Mr Crofte in the furdrance of this yong gentyllman, whom I wold gladly do pleasure unto; wherin if it plese you to travell, I shall geve you my harty thanks at oure metyng, wych I wyshe to be shortly; and if ther be any thing wher in I may do you plesure, ther is no man whome you shall fynd more redy to do it then I, and so I pray you to think of me. And thus I wyshe you as well to do as I wold my nowne sellff. From Semperyngham, the xjth of Sept. 1559.

Your assured lovyng frend,

E. CLYNTON.*

No. XXXVIII.

Mr Secretarie CECIL to Sir RAFE SADLER. †

SIR,

Yesterday I wrote to you from this place, mentioning the receipt of your lettre of the viijth of this, wherin I perceyved the comming thither of *Balnaves* and of *therle of Arreyn*. This night I remembered that ye wer advised by my former lettres from the cowrte *to lende the*

* Seal, a star and garter; motto, *Honi soit, &c.*

† The words in italics are written in a cipher; but are deciphered by another hand.

protestants money as of your selve, taking secretlie the bonds of them to rendre the same, so as the quene shuld not be a partie therto. Nevertheles I referr my judgment to that which ye see there metest. I praye you by your lettres send to Hughes, the iord tresorors man at York, to hasten his collection of the mony that must come to Barwyk for the soldiers there. Sir Richard Lee hath missed me here by the waye, because he diverted † here to St Albons directly. And so I take my leave, wishyng the contynuanee of good newes thence. I wold gladly ye sought to understand what becometh of the French men that went by the west seas, which was the B. of Amyens and La Brosse, with iiij^{xx} (80) horsmen; if they come savely to the rest, it shall much proffitt them. My lord admyrall departe with Gods leave hence on Fridaye in the after noone. The xijth of Sept. 1559.

Your assured frend,

W. CECILL. ‡

To the right honorable sir Raff Sadler, knight, embassad. for the quenes majestie uppon the front. of Scotland, at Berwyk. Hast, hast, hast, hast, for lieff, for lyff, for lyff. W. CECILL.

R. at Newcastell the xv of Sept. at x of the cloke before noone. Rassaved at Borford at xij off the cloke at neghet. Rec. by sir Ralph 15 Sept. at midnight.

NO. XXXIX.

Sir RALPH SADLER and Sir JAMES CROFTS to Mr Sec. CECILL.

SIR,

This shalbe to signefie unto you, that on Sondag, about ij of the clocke in the morning, therle of Arreyn was safely delyvered in Tevi-

† A Latinism for "turned aside."

‡ All in Cecill's hand writing.

dale, unto such one of his frends hands, as hathe undertaken both secretlye, and surely, to convey him to his father; where in we doubt nothing the performaunce of his promise. Assone as we shall understonde of his safe arryvall there, we shall advertise you of the same.

We be informed that dyvers merchaunts of Scotland have sued to the regent there for her lettres to the quenes majestie, whereby they might obteyne safeconduct to traffike into England with their merchandises, as in such case hath ben accustomed, which the saide regent woll in no wise graunte to them, because, as it is supposed, she wolde have no resorte of Scotts into Englande at this tyme. Wherefore it hath ben requyred of us, both by Mr Balnaves and Alexander Whitlaw, that we wolde sue to the quenes majestie for such a safeconduct, and also for a lycence to bye x geldings for the lords of the congregation, as you shall perceyve by a memoriall delyvered unto us by the saide Whitlaw, which we sende you hereinclosed.

Yesterday therle of Northumberland and we, mette with the Scottish commissioners here uppon the frontiers, and using thaccustomed maner, we perused their commission, and they lykewise ours. And uppon consideracion of the same, they founde faulte with ours, because there was none auctoryte given us by speciall words to treat upon the raunson and delyverie of prisoners; wherein nevertheles the generall words of our commyssion do auctorise us sufficiently, besids our speciall instructions for that purpose, as we declared unto them; and so we offred to treat with them in that matier, which they refused not. We also founde fault with their commission, because it extendeth no further then to treat specially uppon the ransom of prisoners, and redresse of attemptats committed syns the last conclusion of the peax, as you shall perceyve by the copie of their commission, which we sende you herewith; so that they have no such auctoryte therby as we have by our commission, to make and establishe such other lawes and ordenaunces, as on both sides we shoulde thinke mete for the better order and common quiet of thes frontiers. Nevertheles we agreed, because we wolde lose no tyme, to enter into

treatye with them uppon these ii speciall poyntes, untill they might obteyne a larger commission. This day we shall mete agayn for that purpose; and of our further proceedings therein we shall advertise, as the case shall require. If it lyke you to sende us a larger commission, with speciall woords to treatte upon the ransom and delyvery of prisoners, &c.

Not touching the attemptats and disorders of the west marches, which they refuse to meddle with. xij Sept. 1559.

No. XL.

Sir RALPH SADLER to Mr Secretary CECILL.

SIR,

Amongst my lettres and instructions which I receyved from you by Mr Raylton after my departure from the courte, there was one lettre addressed from the quenes majestie to the lady Carnabie, and by myn instructions I perceyved that it was to borowe her house at Hexham for the keper of Tyndale, and that I might use my discession therein as I shoulde see cause. If I had then conferred with you uppon the same, I coulde have declared unto you, that Hexham is no apte, ne mete place for the service of the keper of Tyndale. Nor in my tyme I am sure there never lay any such in Hexham, saving onely sir Reynolde Carnaby,* who had lever lye in his owne house, though it were not the metest place for the service, then seke any others. But undoubtedly the most apte and convenyent placis for that purpose on all the frontiers are Gangston, Langley, or Chipehace,† in one of which iij

* Husband of the widow lady Carnaby, whose house was now wanted for the keeper.

† Belonging to the family of Heron. "A pretty town and castle," says Leland, "hard on the east part of the arm of North Tyne, the which divideth Tyndale from Northumberland. For Tynedale, though it be as a part of Northumberland, yet it is as a part privileged within itself."—*Itin.* Vol. VII. p. 63. Hence it came to have a keeper, independent of the usual deputy-wardens.

placis men of service have alwayes ben placed, and specially for the well executing of that office of Tyndale. Nevertheles, I have lerned syns my comyng hither, that Mr Slingsbie, brother to my lord of Northumberland by maryage of his sister, being keper of Tyndale, and by all lykelihood seking rather his own ease and commodyte then the service of the quenes majestie, and the stay and quyetnes of the contrey, hath a gret desyre to lye in Hexham, wher indede he hath lyen for the most parte this xij moneth, ever syns he had thoffice, in a house, which, if he woll neds lye in Hexham, may serve him aswell now as it hathe don before; and if he be wery of that house, yet is there in Hexham ij towers of the quenes majesties, which, as I am credibly informed, with thexpens of xx^{li}. to make a litle reparacion, woll serve as good a man as Mr Slyngsbie is; but for his more ease and comodyte, he must neds have my lady Carnabies house, because it is the fayrest house in the towne; and well he can be content that she being a poure wydowe, and her daughter also a poure wydow, and one of the heyres of the house,* having none other place to bestowe themselfs in and theyr famylye, shoulde seke a new dwelling to give place to him, his wyf, and his famylie, as you know it is reason, and all uppon pretence that it is for the better service of the quenes majestie, which I assure you is mere contrary. In this matier my lord of Northumberland is very ernest for his saide brother, and hath wrytten therein to my lady Carnabye in suche sorte, as when I compare the quenes majesties lettres and his together, being bothe wrytten to the said lady for one matier, I fynde a grete difference betwixt them; thone conteyning a gentill request to her, that she woll condescende to let the keper of Tyndale have the use of her house for the better discharge of his office, the same being thought mete for the purpose; thother conteyning an imperious commandement and straight

* Sir Reginald Carnaby left his estate to three daughters co-heiresses, viz. first, Catherine, wife of Cuthbert lord Ogle; second, Ursula, wife of Edward Widderington, esq; third, Mabel, wife of George Lawson, esq.

charge, uppon payn of contempt and disobedyence, that she woll suffer the saide keper to be placed in her house for the better service as is aforesaide. As though his auctoryte did extende so farre as he may do wrong to whom he lysteth. I speke not this uppon informacion; for I have his lettres to shew, the lyke whereof I have not sene wrytten in such a case by any subiect. The poure gentilwoman, that can not spare her house because she hath no mo, hath had moch a do to kepe it from my lord† and his brother. And therefore, when I had well understode the matier, I wrote my poure mynde to my lord thereon, and in the same declared to him what commission I had, with also myn opynyon, toching thaptenes of the place, and desyred that it might please his lord to stay in it till I might speke with him. Whereuppon, he perceyving that I lyked not his proceedings therein, and that I semed to be against his opynyon for the convenyence of the place, he wrote to me very earnestly agayn, amongst other things, that he wolde not bere such contempt and dispite as was offered unto him in that parte by the lady Carnaby and her frends, whills the auctorytie was in his hande, with other fonde matier, which is not worth the rehersall. And now I here say that he intendeth to sende up his saide brother Slingsbie, or som other, eyther to complayne, wherein I thinke he woll make some untrew suggestion, or ells to make meanes and sute to the lords of the counsaile to disturbe the poure gentilwoman in her house, I assure you, without any good grounde or cause reasonable. Wherefore I have thought mete to advertise you of that I know therein. And if any such complaynt or sute be made there by the said Slingsby, or any other, if it may please you to retourne the matier hither by commission, or lettres directed to therle of Northumberland, sir James Croft, and me, or such others as you shall thinke mete, giving charge unto them to examyn the circumstances of it, and to call before them the most experte and wise gent. of the countrey, and by them to lerne which be the most mete placis for the service of

† The earl of Northumberland, and sir Francis Slingsby.

the keper of Tyndale; then shall you know whether the saide keper seke my lady Carnabyes house for his own commodyte, or for the well executing of his office. At the leest, I make a certen accompte that you woll not give credite to thone partie till you have harde thother.

It is more than xx yeres ago syns I had som understanding of this frontier, and yet dyd I never know it in such disorder; for now the officer spoyleth the thefe,* without bringing forth his person to tryall by the law; and the thefe robbeth the trew man, and the trew men take assuraunce of the theves that they shall not robbe them, and give them yerely rent and tribute for the same.† And in these last warres I here, which I never harde of before, that English borderers were assured by the Scottes from burning and spoyle, and for the same in lyke wise payed the Scottes certen rent and tribute. All which procedeth of the lacke of stoute and wise officers. Wherefore, if you woll have the frontiers well ordered, you must appoynt such officers as can governe better, which, in my pour opynion, might be so chosen, as the quenes majestie shoulde by them be a gret dele better served then she is now, and with lesse charge, as at my retourne, if I may have the hering, I shalbe able to declare unto you.‡

I trust you woll conceyve that I write nothing herein eyther of any malice or fond ignorance, but onely in respect of my duetie to the quenes majestie, and for thadvancement of her highnes service, which is as mete, and more mete, to be considered and loked to on this frontier, then in any place of Englande. Sept. 12. 1559.

* *i. e.* takes his goods.

† Called in Scotland *black-mail*.

‡ All these complaints seem levelled against the earl of Northumberland and his deputies.

No. XLI.

*Sir Wm. INGLEBY * to Sir RALPH SADLER.*

Righte worshipfull, it maye please yowe to understande, thatt the order of the receipt haith bene suche here, by whose necligence I can nott saie, thatt to this presente there is not received the somme of five thowsande pownds; which thinge, bycause itt is contrarie theexpectaciouns of the quenes highnes moste honorable councell, and gretlie prejudiciall to the soldiours so longe unpaied, I thoughte good to signefie unto yowe, thatt theire mighte some remedie be had therein. Yf more spede be not maide hereafter by the collectours, there is so manie delaies and excuses maide, thatt I doubte much the somme of fivetene thowsande apointed to Barwicke will not be had in theis partes, whiche thinge so sone as I can have prove of, as I nowe but suspecte the same, yowe shall not faille to be certefied. Thus I ceasse to truble yowe. Frome Ripplaie, this xiiijth of Sept. 1559.

Yours to commaunde,

WYLLAM INGLYBY.

*To the righte worshipfull
sir Raphe Sadler, knyghte, give this at Berwicke.*

No. XLII.

The Queen to Sir RALPH SADLER and Sir JAMES CROFT.

ELIZABETH R.

By the Quene.

Trusty and welbeloved, we grete you well. And let you wit, we have sene your lettres conteyning the discourse and comunicacion

* This gentleman appears to have commanded a company of soldiers, and also to have been treasurer or paymaster of the garrison at Berwick.

you have had with Balneves, wherein lyke as we well perceyve you have used your sellfs with no lesse wysdome and circumspection, then we allwayes looked for at your handes, so doo we take your doings therein in very good parte, and gyve you by these our hasty thanks for the same ; assuring you, that as we nothing doubt of the contynnuance of your good and diligent service in this or any other thing that we shall have occasion to employe you in, so shall you well perceyve, that we will be glad, as commoditie may serve, to consider the same in suche sorte, as you shall have cause to think us your good and gracious lady, and your travayle and paynes not to be forgotten. Geven under our signet at our honnour of Hampton courte, the xiiijth of Sept. the fyrst yere of our reigne.

Post script. We will within fewe dayes more fully and particularly advertise you of our further pleasure touching the content of your sayd lettres.

No. XLIII.

Mr Secretary CECILL to Sir RAFE SADLEIR and Sir JAMES CROFT.

After my harty commendations. The quenes majestie sent theis lettres included to be sent to you, and hath by hir private lettres, willed me to assure you as soone as I come to the court, to gyve you knowledg for the releiving of * *Kirkaldy, Ormeston, &c.* I trust uppon the arryvall of this post ye shall have herd *summe* certenty of *therle of Arrein* being *with his father*. The *quenes majestie* wold have you have good regard to whome ye delyver the *money*, both for honor of the persons and *secretie*. I was willed, if I thought mete, to addresse this beror, being the post of the court, through to you with these lettres;

* This and the other words in italics are written in a cypher, but are decyphered.

which I have doone for suerty, aswell of hir majesties lettres, as also for the retorne of that which he shall bryng from you.

I send you included a specialtye for 200 *crowns*, as ye maye see; wherof if ye here any thyng, I pray you receave the monny, and delyvir the bill.* I wold not wish more hast therin than you see convenient, although it is of my owne purse. God be with you both, and with all your affayres. From my poore howse at Burleigh, the 14th of Sept. 1559.

Yours assuredly,

W. CECILL.

No. XLIV.

Sir RAFE SADLER and Sir JAMES CROFT to Mr Secretary CECILL.

SIR,

We have receyved your lettres of the xjth of this present. And to satisfie your desire to here of † *the sure entrance of Mons. de Beaufort*,‡ lyke as we did advertise you by our lettres of the xijth *that he was safelye delyvered in Terydale to one of his frends hands, that undertoke to convey him surelie and secretelye to his father*, so you shall understonde, that we have now certen advertisement that *he is safely in the castell of Hamilton with his father*, who rejoysed not a litle of his commyng thither; and hitherto he remaineth there *so secret*, that at the wryting hereof it was not known *in Scotland that he is arryved there*. He hath sent hither for Randall, whom we woll sende unto him by the same man that conveyed hym before, with asmoch spede as we may conveyently.

* This is the bill for the money lent by Cecil to Arran, as mentioned in p. 437.

† All the words in italics seem to have been written in a cypher.

‡ The earl of Arran, concerning whose safe arrival Cecil had so often expressed anxiety.

The Scottish commissioners, with whom we have had sondry conferences and metings for these border matiers, have ben very quesitif of the passage of Scottish men thorough England, and chiefly the olde larde of Lethington,* who, being the wisest man of them, tolde us that the regent of Scotland willed him to declare unto us in gentill and pleasant maner, as he sayed, that she understode, that without her licence or knowlege, dyvers Scottish men passed thorough Englande into Scotlande, and lykewise out of Scotland into Englande, and had not onely passeporte and safeconduct, but also licence to passe in post at their pleasure, which she sayed is contrary to the treatie; for that in the same it is capitulated, that no subiect of eyther prynce shall have safeconduct to passe in that sorte, without consent and lycence of the princis of both realmes; trusting that the quene our sovereign wolde have such consideracion of the same as apteyned. We answered, that in dede of late sondrye Scottis men and French men also cam out of Fraunce into Englande to passe into Scotland, which were permytted, without ony stay, to passe frelye, as frendshypp and good neighbourhood doth require in tyme of peax; and I sir James Croft toke the faulte uppon me, saying, that if it were a faulte, I was asmoche to be blamed for it as any other; for that if eyther Scottish man or French man repayred to this towne to passe into Scotland, I suffered him to passe, and stayed no man, thinking thereby to deserve thanks, rather then that any defaulte shoulde have ben founde with the same. Where-with they passed over the matier; but, as we coniecture, all is for that they mistrust the commyng of *therle of Arrayn* thorough England. And as we can understonde, they have gotten som knowlege that a French man shoulde secretely passe thorough Alnewyk; and because they can not lerne where he is becom, therefore they be so quesitif. Hereof we thought mete to advertise you, to thintent you may consider what the treatie purporteth in that behalf, and also advertise us

* Sir Richard Maitland; his son, the secretary of queen Mary, is usually called young Lethington.

what we shall answere, if they fynde any more defaulte with the same.

The English borderers on the west marches, called the Graymes, * have made sondry incursions into Scotland uppon the lord Maxwell, and have slayne his cosen the parson of *Amade*, and also chased the saide lorde Maxwell, who hardly escaped them. And still they ryde and spoyle his countrey as we understonde, so that he is so occupied there to defende the same, that he hath yet no leysour to *loke thother waye*.† This matier seameth very strange unto us, considering that in tyme of warre, when they shoulde and ought to have don service, they stired not, nor ever set fote into Scotland to annoy thenemye, and now, in tyme of peax, do all they can to distourbe the same. Whether it be a practise or no, we woll not judge; but this we perceyve, that the Scottish commissioners here fynde no fault with it; and where as we offred to treate with them for redresse of attemptats don on the the west marches, they refused it, as we wrote to you in our last lettres. We woll do what we can to lerne how it cometh to passe that the Graymes be so busye, and have alredy made *meanes* therefore. The lord Dacres‡ lyeth at Carlisle, and eyther suffereth it, orells can not or woll not amende it. What polycie it is to commytte rule and auctoryte to such men as your wardens here be, *with their other faults not unknownen to you*,§ you can iudge and consider better then we can; but we, as our dueties do requyre, wishe that suche shoulde have the rule of these frontierrs, as favour the quenes maiesties procedings, and be most mete and hable to governe so gret a charge.

* A fierce and untractable clan of borderers inhabiting the Debateable Land on the western march. There was an ancient feud between them and the lord Maxwell, who had plundered and forayed their lands about the year 1550.

† This is explained by a passage in a subsequent letter from Balnaves to Sadler and Crofts, in which he complains, that the outrages of the Græmes prevented Maxwell from bringing his men to the rendezvous of the lords of the congregation.

‡ Thomas lord Dacre of the north. He died in the 8th year of queen Elizabeth's reign.

§ To which was added, "being indeed rank papists;" but these words are deleted.

Post scripta. I sir Ralph Sadler receyved your other lettres directed to me of the xijth of this, mencioning, amongst other things, that by your former lettres from the courte, I was advised *to lende the protestants money as of myself, taking secretly bands of them to render the same, so as the quenes majestie shoulde not be a partie therto.* In dede I do remember, that when I was with you at the courte before my dispatche, such maner of talke passed betwixt you and me; but syns that tyme, if you wrote to me any lettres of such effect, surely they are *imbesiled*, for they never cam to my hands. The money is alrede delivered to *Balnaces*, who, by reason of contrary wynde, was forced to tary vj dayes in *Holy Islande*; and theréfore, to advoyde further travaile in sending backe agayn for it, having *Alex. Whitlawe* in his companye, he desyred that they might have *the money with them*, wherein we thought good to satisfie his desyre; and on Wenesday last, afore none, *they sayled* homewards *with* a very good wynde, trusting to here shortely of *their safe arryvall.*

Touching the B. of Amyens and La Brosse, we here not of them, but that they be loked for in *Scotland*. Marry, it is thought there that they woll not *passee by the west seas*, because if they com that way, they must neds fall in the *danger of the protestants.** Assone as we shall lerne any certentie of them, you shall be advertised accordinglye.

We had worde even now *that therle of Arrayn hath discovered himself in Scotland*, and hether he hath sent your cc crowns, (200) though the same were not requyred of him by any of us. You shall do well therfore to sende him his *bill*. † And lykewise I sir James Croft receyved commendacion this morning *from the young larde of Lethington, secretarie to the regent*, desiering me to have no lesse good opinion then heretofore I have conceaved of him, offéring also his service to the *quenes majestie* in any thing that he can doo. And further, sent

* Whose principal strength lay in the western counties.

† What follows, and the termination of the next letter, appears to be written by sir James Croft.

me woorde, that he attended upon *the regent in her courte no longer then till he might have a good occasion to revolte unto the protestants.* These commendacions he sent me by one *Melvin, a Scottsman, and servant to the constable of Fraunce,* who is now passing hence towards his master.* Thus we ende, and committ you to the tuicion of Almightye God. From Berwick, the 16th of Sept. 1559.

No. XLV.

Sir RAFE SADLER and Sir JAMES CROFT to Mr Secretary CECILL.

We have no specyal matier to write of the protestant proceedings, because we harde nothing from them sithens the departure of Balnaves, and therefore because your post, this berer, is very dysyrus to retourne to his charge, we have thought good to depeche him with such matier as we here reported by the common brute of Scottishmen, that is, that gretely they reioyse in Scotland of the comying home of therle of Ar-rayn, and moch devising there is which way he cam, suspecting the same to have ben thorough England. The regent is in gret melancolie and displeasure with the same: and also they say that the congregacion begynneth to assemble, and woll ryse agayn, and the French men devise for their defence, loking daylie for the marques Dalbeuf, and

* This was the amiable and accomplished sir James Melville of Hallhill, author of the Memoirs which bear his name. He went to France to be page of honour to queen Mary, and by her allowance entered into the service of the constable Montmorency, where he remained for nine years. He had been dispatched by Henry II. into Scotland, to recommend mild and temporizing measures to the queen-dowager, such as might secure the temporal obedience of the reformers, "leaving Scottishmen's souls to God, as he had difficulty enough to rule the consciences of Frenchmen;" and with amicable proposals to the protestant lords. Melville had chiefly addressed himself to the prior of St Andrews, better known as the regent Murray, and was returning to France through England with his answer to the French king's message, when he passed through Berwick, as mentioned in the text. The death of Henry II., and the violent counsels of the Guises, broke off these communings, and with them all hopes of reviving the French interest in Scotland.

with him more ayde out of Fraunce, which, if they were arryved, they think themselves strong ynough for the protestants. This is the common brute, but we trust to here shortly som certentie of their proceedings, and then we shall advertise the same with diligence.

The incursions and attemptats into the west marches of Scotland, by the Graymes and other *surnames* of Englande do contynew, or rather increase; and as we wrote that we had made som meanes to know how it cam to passe, that they were now so busie in tyme of peax, and in the tyme of warre so quyet, so have we lerned, by informacion, that the lord Dacres, who might stay it if he wolde, lyeth at Carlisle, and wynketh at the matier; and as we be informed should say, that he had no commandement from the quenes majestie, neyther to stay them, nor to bidde them *ryde*, and therefore they might do as they listed. We woll not say this is trew, but we must neds thinke that it procedeth eyther by his will or by his necligence.* And also we understonde, that he sent to the regent of Scotland ij of his trustie servaunts, which retourned from her on Thursday last; and as themselves say, they went to her to desyre that she wolde appoynte a warden on her west marches, to thentent the lord Dacres might mete and conferre with him, for to make redresse of attemptats don, and for the keping of good rule on those borders. But why my lord Dacres shoulde sende to her to desire redresse we see not, for thenglishmen have now don so gret hurt to Scotland, that, as we be infourmed, they be not hable to make redresse for it, and the Scotts, which wolde fayne be quyet, have don nothing to Englande. And therefore my lord Dacres hath no cause to complayn, ne to seke for any redresse. What the cause is whie he shoulde sende to her we know not, but what he is you know; and to

* The inference seems to be, that by connivance at the inroads of these borderers, Lord Dacres was bringing on a breach between England and Scotland, and a revival of the ancient national antipathy, which could not be otherwise than destructive to Elizabeth's plan of forming a Scottish party in the interest of England. Besides, Lord Maxwell was a zealous reformer, and these aggressions effectually kept him from joining the lords of the congregation. See No. LII.

say our opynyons to you, we thinke he wolde be very loth that the protestants in Scotland, yee or in Englande, shoulde prosper, if he might lett it. And even of the same sorte is your warden of the est and myddell marches here; and then iudge you how mete they be to governe such a charge, that requyreth men of wisdom, trust, stoutnes, and good government: such officers we wishe to be in their placis: the consideracion whereof we referre to the high powers. In the meane season, under your reformation, we thinke it mete that, at the least, straight charge and commandement, by lettres from thens, be addressed to the saide lord Dacre, to stay the saide incursions, and to kepe better rule on the frontiers under his charge. The rest we referre to your wisdom. And so, &c. **We suspect that therle of Northumberland is advertised, from tyme to tyme, by Alen, the clerke of the counsail there, of all secret matiers, whatsoever they be, that concernith him, or any other.* xix September, 1559.

No. XLVI.

The Maior of Newcastle to therle of Northumberland, and the other Comissioners.

Yt maye please you to understande, that I have received your honorable lettres of the xvij of September, touchinge the enteraunce of James Hume, Skotisheman, sonne of the lorde of Coldingknowes, and his retourne agayn unto you.† So it is that the said James, makinge his entraunce unto sir Robert Brandlinge, to thuse of my lorde Wharton, agreable to his bonde. I have not the les, accordinge to your

* In cypher (in the margin).

† James Home, son of John Home, laird of Coldingknowes, a near relation of the earl of Home, appears to have been taken at a skirmish before the gates of Berwick. Lord Wharton writes several letters claiming the ransom of this prisoner, for one of his retainers.

honorable lettres, sent and retourned the said James Hume unto your lordship by thes berers; not doubteing but that your honour woll take suche order with the said James Hume, as that I may be discharged and acquyted from all manner of encumberaunces, touchinge his delyverie from hens, if my lorde Wharton, at any tyme hereafter, shall call for him at my hands. As knoweth our Lorde God, whome I beseche to have your honours and woorshipes in his blessed tuycions. At Newcastle, this xxi of September, anno 1659.

Your lorde and wourships most humble at commandment,

The maiour of Newcastle,

OSWOLD CHAPMAN.

No. XLVII.

Sir RALPH SADLER and Sir JAMES CROFT, to the Lords and others of the Lords Privie Counsel.

It may like your lordships to understande, that perceyving by your lettres of the xv of August, that John Flemyng, with 50 goonniers, such as cam from Guysnes, was in the tyme of quene Mary sent hither, to serve here in this towne, onely of intent to relieve them, being then without other succour, and that it was none otherwise meant at that tyme, but that the charges of that number shoulde contynue no longer then during the lyves onely of those 50 persons that cam from Gysnes; in consideracion whereof your lordships pleasure is, not onely that if any of them be ded, or their rowmes otherwise becom voyde, and supplied agayn by others, contrary to the first meaning, we shoulde, in that case, cause such as have newly ben brought in to the saide crue to be cassed, onles they, or any of them, shall appere unto us to be such men as, for their skill and qualities, are fytted to be contynued in service, but also that we shoulde take order that from hensfourth, as any of the said 50 goonniers shall by death or otherwise fayle, none

other be admitted to his place, but that the rowme may die with the person, according to the fyrst intent. We have thought good to signifie unto your lordships, that uppon consideration of the matier, as we fynde that of the saide nombre of 50, that cam hither from Guysnes, 5 or 6 at the most have lefte their rowmes here, som of them by deth, and som otherwise; so hathe it ben thought mete, by such as for the tyme had the charge here, to supplie their placis with others, for the better furnytur and more suretie of this towne. And when the fortifications here shalbe fynished, it is thought that the same woll occupie no lesse nombre of goonners than one hundreth at the leest, for the greate ordenaunce. Wherefore we thinke it mete that the saide number of 50 be contynewed, and as any of them shall fayle, to be still supplied, if it may so stande with your lordships pleasure; whereunto, nevertheles, we do referre the same, as aperteyneth. 21 September, 1559.

No. XLVIII.

Copy of JOHN SINCLEAR'S (i. e. JOHN KNOX'S) Lettre to Sir JAMES CROFT.*

RIGHT WOORSHIPFULL,

These are to advertise you, that upon Monday the 17 of September, the lords of the congregacion departed from Sterling, where they had remayned certain dayes before, in consultacion upon thies present affaires. Therle of Arrane being in their companye, they departed altogether, I saye, to Hamilton, to my lord duke, for reconsiliacion to be made betwixt him and summe lords and other gentlemen, whome, before, he and his freends having authoritie, had offended. In that com-

* This celebrated reformer, in his passage from Geneva to Scotland, had had an interview with Cecil, and was well acquainted with his views. He arrived in Scotland 2d May, 1559.

panye departed bothe the men who last wer with you, together with the larde of Graunge: God unite their harts in perfett love. Before I wrote unto you and unto Mr Secretary, that onles summe supporte were made unto particuler men, and especiallie to those whome I did notefie in writing, that impossible it ware unto them to serve in this action. For albeit that money, by the adversarie partie, largelie offred, coude not corrupt them, yet shulde extreame povertie compell them to remayne at home; for they are so superexpended already, that they are not hable to beare oute their trayne, and the same thing I write unto you again, requyering you to signefie the same to suche as tendre the furtheraunce of this cause. If any persuade you that they wooll, or maye serve withoute supporte, they doo but deceyve you. If I did not perfetlie understand their necessitie, I wolde not write so precise-lie: for I nothing doubte to obteyne of them, by the authoritie of Gods woord, what lyeth in their power; yea, if they coude have money upon their lands, I shulde never solicitt for them; but the knowledge of their povertie, and the desier which I have that the cause prosper, makith me bolde to speake my iudgement. If we lacke those, sir, whome in my former lettres I expressed, our power will be weaker then men beleve. Fraunce seakith all meanes to make them freends, and to diminish our nombre. Ye are not ignorant what povertie on the one parte, and money largelie offred upon the other parte, is hable to persuade. Be advertised, and advertise you others, as you favour the successe of the cause. I have doon what in me lyeth, that corruption entre not amongst them; and at my last departing from them, I verilie beleve that they were of one mynde, to promote the cause enterprised, but the power of summe is suche as before I have expressed. One thing must I suite of you, to witt, that either by yourselfe, or ells by sir Rafe Sadleyr, to whome I could not write, because no acquayntaunce hath been betwixt us, you wolde procure a licence for my mother, Elizabeth Bowis,* to visitt me, and to remayne with me

* I do not know that the name of our reformer's mother is to be found elsewhere. His father resided at Gifford, in East Lothian, and was, as it would seem from a passage in Knox's History, a retainer of the earl of Bothwell. See Hist. Edit. 1732, p. 306.

for a season; the comfort of her conscience, whiche cannot be quyett without Gods woorde, trulie preached, and his sacraments rightelie ministred, is the cause of her request, and of my care.

The castell of Edinburghe hathe narowlie eskaped betrayeng, but nowe, I hope, it be in better assurance, because the quene and her Frenche counsaile are disapoyntid of their purpose in that bihalfe. They have began to fortifie Leyht. Their souldiors supplie the place of pioneers, for augmentation of their wagis. As other things occurith, ye shall be advertised. And thus I commit you to the protection of the Omnipotent. From St Andrewes, the xxj of September, 1559.

Yours to his power,

JOHN SINCLEAR.

No. XLIX.

At the Kirke of oure Lady of Upsatlingtoun, the xxij of September, 1559.*

Articulis and Ordinances aggreit upoun and maid be the Lordis Commissionaris of baith the Realmes, for the bettir ordour of redresse, and reformation of all attemptatis done, and to be done upon the Borders.†

First. It is be the saidis commissionaris ordanit, that all billis allreddy fylit, salbe duellie and fully deliverit be the wardane and wardanis of ather realmes, viz. in the myddill marcheis, on Tewisday the xxviiij day of September instant: and for the est marcheis, on Mounday the secund of October. Ane hill for ane uthair on every marche safer, as baith

* Now called Lady Kirk, situated on the north bank of the Tweed, near Norham. Lady Kirk was built by James IV. in the bounds of the ancient parish of Upsetlington.

† See the confirmation of this treaty by Francis and Mary, in Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. XV. p. 539.

the realmes have like number of billis fylit. And yf ather realme chances to have maa billis fylit nor the other sal have, sic billis to be deliverit without fallow. And the like ordour to be observit for all billis to be fylit hereftir. And ordenis the wardanis to keip thair conditions, to uthairis alreddy maid for spering, fyling, and delivering according to the said covenant.

Item. That the wardanis of athir realme sall appoynt and keip thair conventionis and diettes, at townes and places accustomat for every marche, and thair to here and rassaif all complayntis of athir realme, and gif detfull ansuere, without ony delay, to all billis, for every attemptat committit be the liegis of athir realme, according to the lawis and custume of the borderours. And that the said wardanis sall appoynt thair assysours, according to the anchient use to that effect.

Item. For sic attemptatis hes bene committit be athir of the realmes sen the conventioun of the saidis commissionaris, upoun complaynt geven to the wardanis of athir realme, thair names being alwayis contenit in the complaynt, the saidis wardanis sall spere, fyle, and deliver, according to the custume of the bordour, upoun thair honours, alwayis the opposit wardane taking, upoun his honour, that sic gude wantit within that tyme, and fylit that marche.

Item. It is aggreit be the lordis foresaidis, that all presonaris of athir realmes, sall enter to thair takaris, or pay thair severale bandis, of quhat kynd so evir thai be, under writting sympill or conditionalie, or be promisse, without writting; and in defalt thairof, to forefalt the sounes of money contenit, or promissit, in the said bandis.

Item. Gif any contraversy happin to be for forefaling of bandis, that the parties grevit, of athir realme, sall complene to the wardane of the opposit marche, and for Berwik to the capitane thairof; all thir contraverses salbe decidit be the said wardanis; and the said capitane of Berwik, for thois under his reule, viz. sic assistente as thai sall tak unto thame; and in like maner all contraversys to be decidit in maner abonewrittin, of presonaris.

Item. Gif any presonar of athir realme be lattin hame, be his takar, upoun promes of re-entre, quhidder the sam be maid be word or writing, and na penaltie maid for non entre, it is ordanit be the said commissioneris, that every sic presonar salbe compellit to enter be the wardanis of that realme, quhair the presonar is sortit, and siclike the capitane of Berwik within his autorite.

Item. It is menit to the saidis commissioneris, that thair is divers presonar in athir realme, sum put in irnes and fetters, or castin in horrible pittes or vyld places, aganis the order of cherrite amangis cristiane men, quharefore the saidis lordis ordanis, that all presonars be honestlie treittit, and cheretablie demanit in tyme cuming.

BOITHUELLE,

R. SADLER,

RECHART MAITLAND, Cesfurd. JAMES CROFT.

No. L.

Sir WILLIAM INGLYBY to Sir RALPH SADLER.

After my humble commendacions. Theis maye be to signefie unto yowe, that accordinge to suche advise as I received from yowe and Mr Crofte, in your last lettres, I shall certefie the quenes highnes counsell the lacke of suche money as will not be levied in theis parts; and shall in the meane time, so spedelie procure the receipte of that is here to be had, as within shorte time I hope to arryve withe the same at Barwicke. Thatt I have received is so small a somme, as the sendinge thereof shulde be doble chargis to the quenes majestie, and the soldiour litle holpen therebie; but so sone as a competente porcioun shall come to my hands, I shall, accordinge to your opynyons, yf more will not be levied, bringe the same withe spede. Thus wyslinge your healthe, I ceasse further to trouble yowe. From Ryplaye, this xxij^d of September, 1559.

Yours humblie to commande,

WYLLAM INGLYBY.

Sir, I have, accordinge to your request for hownds, sente yowe two couple of hownds, suche as shall content yowe, as I trust.*

No. LI.

Secretary CECILL to Sir RALPH SADLER.

SIR,

I sent you a bill for 200 crownes, which I praye you delyver where it ought to be. I praye you send me word, in ciphre, what your opinion is for the †*changyng of the wardens of thest, west, and middle marches*; for it is here sene, as the tyme requireth, very necessary. The *warden of thest and middle marches* hath made suyte to *repayre up to the courte*, and so he shall have leave, *after that he hathe ended his commission*. I wold gladly have some good matter against the *warden of the west marches* at his coming upp. And so I end. From Hampton Court, the 23 of September, 1559.

Yours assuredly,

W. CECILL.

Endorsed, To the Rt. Hon. sir Ralph, &c.

Haste, haste, poste haste, haste, haste.

*Delyvered at Hampton Court at ix of the clocke
aforenoone. Rec. at Newcastle, the xxvij of
September, at ix of the clocke at night.*

* These were probably blood-hounds, or sluith-hounds, used on the Borders for tracing delinquents; although doubtless Sadler may have sent for grey-hounds, for his own pastime.

† This proposed change of the wardens, seems to be in consequence of Sadler's letters, No. XLVIII. and XLIX. The earl of Northumberland held the wardenry of the east and middle marches; lord Dacre that of the west. They were both catholics.

No. LII.

Copie of Mr BALNAVES' Letter to Sir R. SADLER and Sir J'. CROFTIS.

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

After most hartie commendacion. Having occasion by oportunitie of this bringar Mr Whitlaw, I thought it good to advertise you of the proceedings here since myn arriving and departing from you. The 16 of this instant I cam to Striviling, where I founde the lords, togither with my lorde of Arrane. The matiers I had in hand, as secretlie as it was possible, I communicate to a fewe nombre, and purpose was taken with suche diligent spede as might to gett our men togither; no daye prefixit, but that all countreis shulde be warned to be in a readines upon the space of 4 dayes warning, and then to have the certaintie of my lorde dukes mynde in this cause. We past to Hamilton the 19 of this instant, and there, after all our purpose was opened up to him, he gladlie subscribed all the bonds we had made, bothe towards religion and other affaires of the commenweale. And he, togither with the rest of the lords, wrote to therle of Huntley,* that he shulde ioyne him to them, and com forwards with all his freends. It is believed he shall be on this side. Nowe we beyng in Hamilton, woorde cam to us, the Frenchmen ware entred to the fortifyeng of Leith, whiche thing displeaseth not a littell the lords, who incontinent wrote to the quene regent,† to cause them desist from the saide entreprise, or ells the hole nobilitie and commonalltie of the realme wolde provide remedie. There was no aunsver brought again of their lettre at

* George Gordon, earl of Huntley, was a man of great power and considerable abilities; he had little reason to love the regent, who had, upon a former occasion, imprisoued him in Edinburgh castle, and deprived him of many of his honours, particularly the earldom of Murray. Yet he adhered to her faction during the war of reformation, though not without occasionally coquetting with the lords of the congregation.

† Their letter, or rather manifesto, may be found in Knox's History: it bears date at Hamilton, 19 September, 1559.

this tyme. Notwithstanding finall conclusion is taken by the lords, to convene with all the force and strenght they maye, the 15 of this next moneth, and not to depaure a sounder, till the accomlishe the change of this authoritie, and have their intent of the Frenshe men, ether by one meanes or other. And bicause we feare the fortifyeng of Leith in this meane tyme, if it be possible, with suche nombre as maye be gathered of our men, we make to take Edinburgh, to theeffect the Frenchmen maye be impeded of their intreprise; and bicause we woulde be sure of the castell of Edinburgh to freende, there is lettres sent to my lorde of Erskyn* with secret credit. I trust he shall mete my lorde prior this next Soundaye, to common upon this matier. As suche matier takith effect, I shall advertise you tyme by tyme; but the passage is verie difficill. My lorde of Arrane is verie desierous to have Mr Randall to common with; and to that effect, hathe sent this bringar with his owne direction, who can open all these maters at lenght to your M. as he shall be requyered. Moreover, if we shall not have the lyke thing I brought with me, sped hither with diligence, aboute the latter end of this next moneth, it is not possible to kepe our men any long tyme togeth. Therefore I praye your M. have respect therto, and advertise with this bringar me, what tyme the same maye be lippeden† to be received, that I maye appoint summe secret man to that effect. For it is not possible to my selfe to be absent from the lords of counsaile, while these maters take summe staye. This entreprise of Leith hathe inflamed the harts of our people to a woonderfull hatred and despite of Fraunce, wherthrough I thinke there shall folowe a playne defection from Fraunce

* John, thirteenth lord Erskine, and sixth earl of Mar. He was at this time governor of the castle of Edinburgh, and observed a neutrality between the contending parties, refusing particularly to admit either English or French soldiers into the fortress which he commanded. When James VI. was born, the custody of his person was committed to this nobleman; and upon the death of the earl of Lennox at the surprize of Stirling, the earl of Mar was chosen regent in his room. But he did not long enjoy this high office, as he died in November 1572, not without symptoms, or at least suspicion, of poison.

† *i. e.* trusted.

for ever. Thus, not molesting your M. with longer lettre, I committ you to the tuicion of Almightye God. From Striveling in hast, the 23 of Sept. 1559.

By your M. assured freend at power,

HENRY BALNAVES of Halhill.

There hathe chaunced latelie slaughter betweene the Grames of Eske and the M^r. of Maxwell, who is our freende,* and if the same shall not be stayed by summe meanes of your warden of your west marches, it shall make the saide M^r. of Maxwell to be so impeded, that he may not bring forth his men to us in our necessitie. Good it were, if you maye, that summe remedie were provided herin, by the meanes wherof we maye have without lett, the force and strength the saide M^r. of Maxwell maye make to us.

* This throws further light on the conduct of lord Dacres, in conniving at these disorders.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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